

**THE INFLUENCE OF LORD ROBERT BADEN-POWELL
ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOY SCOUT
MOVEMENT WITH OBSERVATIONS ON ITS OPERATION
IN QUEENSLAND 1907 – 1937**

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Robert D. Bruce

B.Teach; B.Gen.Studies; A.Mus.A.

Faculty of Education

Queensland University of Technology

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines important issues related to the influence that Lord Robert Baden-Powell had on the development of Scouting in Queensland in the period 1907 to 1937 with observations on its operation. Baden-Powell conceived the Boy Scout Movement as an answer to some of the social, economic, and political problems at the beginning of the twentieth century. Using Queensland as a case study, it argues his influence was profound. He moulded the Scout Movement according to character traits he valued, including loyalty, discipline and obedience. Regular promotion in the military saw him in many command situations, including the siege of Mafeking, which gave him fame and adulation as a hero of the Empire. That fame brought him into contact with influential people who saw merit in his scheme for training young boys who could be useful to the Empire. With encouragement, he held an experimental camp on Brownsea Island in 1907 and produced *Scouting for Boys*, which became the bible of Scouting for the next sixty years. In fashioning the Boy Scout Movement, this thesis argues that the Council of Control in Queensland, the original managing body for Boy Scouts, substantially adopted Baden-Powell's values and objectives. Baden-Powell believed that it was his responsibility to determine policy, procedures, and the direction of the Movement; a belief that brought him into conflict with leaders within Scouting and with sections of the public. These conflicts were to cause secessions within the Movements in England, Australia, and America. In material focusing on Queensland, this thesis argues that the Executive of the Council of Control determined its own composition and dominated decision-making, replicating Baden-Powell's attitudes towards control and management. It further argues that while Baden-Powell advocated decentralisation, the struggle between democracy and bureaucracy tended very much towards autocracy.

Baden-Powell's absolute belief in the supremacy of the Empire saw him introduce the Boy Scout Migration Scheme after World War I, as a means of expanding the Empire. Through a misunderstanding about the social conditions in both England and Australia, the initiative was inherently flawed and in Queensland failed in its greater objective. Policies determined by the Council of Control, particularly those concerning the qualities required of Scoutmasters, limited expansion of the Movement. Class and citizenship issues, reflecting the conservative nature of Scouting with its emphasis on obedience, discipline and loyalty did not attract the working classes. In Queensland, as

elsewhere, it became a white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class enclave. Attempts to integrate Queensland's Aboriginal and Torres Strait youth into the Movement met with only moderate success. Issues of race dogged the Movement worldwide in the 1930s, leading to Baden-Powell's forced 'retirement' from active involvement in 1937.

KEY WORDS

character, citizenship, British Empire, honour, imperialism, militarism, pacifism, Baden-Powell, Scouts, Youth, Queensland.

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NAME OF THE MOVEMENT IN QUEENSLAND 1907 - 1937

1909:	The Australian League Boy Scouts, Queensland Section
1910:	League of Baden-Powell Scouts, Queensland Section
1912:	The Boy Scouts Association, Queensland Branch

MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES OF THE QUEENSLAND BOY SCOUTS 1908-1937

Council of Control. This was the original managing body created in 1909.

Central Executive Committee. The Council of Control appointed its members. Some documents refer to it simply as the 'Executive'. In 1936, it became the State Executive.

State Council. The Annual General Meeting of the League of Baden-Powell Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, known as the State Council, was a meeting, not a body of people. In 1921, this changed. The Council of Control formally expanded through the inclusion of clergy and influential business people and renamed the State Council. This was a body of people, and the Annual General Meeting called simply the AGM. At this time (1921), the Movement created several Sub-Committees, including:

- * Development
- * Finance
- * Property
- * Publicity
- * Religious
- * Special Purposes
- * Training

STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by any other person except where due reference is made.

QUT Verified Signature

Signed: 

Date: 

2/10/15

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INTRODUCTION

The Promise of Scouting

The Boy Scouts promised a world of excitement and adventure: a boy could go trapping with Canadian Frontiersmen, or track tirelessly through the Australian outback. With Kipling's *Kim*, he could be a master spy 'in the Secret-Service [with] a secret sign', or explore the African jungles seeking the enemy.¹ Baden-Powell, the founder of the Scouting Movement invoked Captain Smith as a means of bringing a 'wild-west' imagination to Scouting, and Sherlock Holmes to track, detect spoor and find one's way through foreign lands.² In *Young Knights*, Baden-Powell explained that Sir Ernest Shackleton was a peace-Scout of the Antarctic where he and his men played a gramophone record for the penguins and found insects that lived in the ice. Lord Nelson was a war-Scout who drove his ship between enemy lines and died at the moment of victory. The 13th Hussars and 5th Dragoon Guards, regiments that Baden-Powell eventually served in, distinguished themselves at Balaclava.³

Scouting held instant appeal to boys through the 'gang' mentality of small groups, 'but it must be of such a kind as to really interest them from the start'.⁴ Scouting created an international brotherhood, which espoused tolerance to 'every other Scout, no matter what social class the other may belong'.⁵ These qualities translated into games and activities with a practical bent. Camping in the bush, cooking over an open fire, and bathing in the creek taught 'initiative, self-control, self-reliance, and self-direction': qualities that Scouting set in great store.⁶

Belonging to the Boy Scouts was an avenue of escape from the drudgery of every-day life in overcrowded suburbs where the very air was unhealthy. It was an escape from cramped schoolrooms that had an 'over scholastic and rigid curricula [and] a preponderance of drill and cramming',⁷ where learning was largely 'through graded

1 Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, Facsimile edition of the original parts 1908, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1957, p. 17.

2 Robert Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, London, 1911, p. 23.

3 Robert Baden-Powell, *Young Knights*, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, London, 1907, pp. 4-5.

4 Robert Baden-Powell, Winter Training Programs, *Outlook*, November 1910.

5 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 49.

6 Robert Baden-Powell, *Aids to Scoutmastership*, Canadian Sea Scouts, Homeport, 1920, p. 18.

7 W. O'Neill, 'Francis Anderson', in B. Nairn & G. Serle, (eds), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 7, Melbourne University Press, 1979, n.p.

readers, the taking of dictation, the learning and chanting of multiplication tables'.⁸ With imagination, a Scout could see 'the buffaloes roaming in Kensington Gardens ... and the smoke from the Sioux lodges under the shadow of the Albert Memorial'.⁹

Being a Boy Scout made a lad healthy and masculine, truthful and obedient. Being a Boy Scout made 'thousands of boys and young men, pale, narrow chested, hunched up, miserable specimens, smoking endless cigarettes ...', dependable, obedient, industrious, employable and physically healthy.¹⁰ Being a Boy Scout shaped a lad's character; lads who would save the Empire from the enemy within 'to counteract if possible the deterioration, moral and physical, which shortened our rising generation and to train boys to be more efficient and characterful citizens'.¹¹ The promise of Scouting for a boy in Queensland was no less than elsewhere. The excitement and challenge of new activities, games, bushcraft, and camping was completely new, and the boys of Queensland grasped these challenges eagerly.

The Boy Scout Movement is, in 2015, the largest youth organisation in the world, with an estimated membership of some 38 million in 161 national organisations.¹² It is a significant social institution, which has as its central philosophy and methodology the development of qualities of character and good citizenship in its members. Instruction known as the Scout Method provides education in a non-formal manner.

Purpose

Barzun and Graff state: 'Researchers are at one with the public in taking it for granted that to understand the state of a question or subject fully, something must be known about its antecedents'.¹³ In Australia, there is a dearth of scholarly interest in the Boy Scout Movement. Particularly lacking is the systematic and comprehensive evaluation of the influence the founder of the Movement, Lord Robert Baden-Powell, had on the

8 Craig Campbell & Helen Proctor, *A History of Australian Schooling*, Allen & Unwin, New South Wales, 2014, pp. 135-136.

9 Robert Baden-Powell, *Adventures and Accidents*, Methuen & Co, London, 1934, p. 66.

10 Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys* 1908, p. 338.

11 Robert Baden-Powell, *Deposition as to Origins of Scout Movement*, 7th Interrogatory, 24 May 1918. Copy held by author.

12 World Organisation of Scout Movements (WOSM), estimated census 31 December 2012.

13 Jacques Barzun & Henry Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 6th edn, Thomson & Wadsworth, United States, 2004, p. 10.

development of the organisation in Queensland. Sam Pryke notes this lack: 'there are, however, inevitable lacunae in the history of the Scouts. Perhaps the most important is the lack of a systematic examination of the spread of the movement outside Britain.'¹⁴ In fact, with the exception of James Galt-Brown's 2002 thesis, 'Baden-Powell and his Boy Scouts: the Reasons for their Creation, Growth and Success in Great Britain 1906-1920', 'no previous work ... provided a comprehensive, reliable history of the Boy Scout organisation', including its pedagogical methodology.¹⁵ This thesis therefore proposes to deal with this deficiency of scholarship. It critically examines and analyses Baden-Powell's influence on the development of Scouting with observations on its operation in Queensland.

Previous studies of the Scout Movement have tended to focus on very specific and therefore discrete issues. For example, British, American, and Canadian scholars focused at length on Scouting's successes, its ideology, its early factionalism, internal dissensions and secessions, Baden-Powell's military career and the social, political, and military environment that prevailed in Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The Scout Movement emerged at a time of political, social, and economic uncertainty in Britain and the greater Empire. It was largely the initiative of Robert Baden-Powell and remained almost a personal possession (and an obsession in his later years), until his 'retirement' in 1937. This thesis argues that Queensland Scouting's Council of Control substantively adopted Baden-Powell's values and objectives for Boy Scouts as policy. However, searching for a systematic and consistent development of Baden-Powell's concepts of pedagogy, philosophy, and educative principles underpinning the Scout Movement is problematic for several reasons. First among these is that Baden-Powell was a prolific writer and diarist, and over time, his views on education, militarism, religion and politics changed, which in turn altered his perspective on the pedagogy of Scouting. Further, Scouting was not created in a social, political or military vacuum; it emerged in a time of social disquiet and apprehension in Britain and Australia; contexts that are outside the living memory of today's historians. In addition to Baden-Powell's largely autobiographical output, many first generation Scouters

14 Sam Pryke, 'The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement', *Social History*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1998, p. 310.

15 James Galt-Brown, 'Baden-Powell and his Boy Scouts: The Reasons for their Creation, Growth and Success in Great Britain, 1906-1920', PhD thesis, Mississippi State University, 2002, p. 23.

produced their own histories, which were either autobiographical or consisting of personal recollections. As Nelson Block notes, histories and recollections were told and retold without rigorous research or verification, and eventually became ‘fact’.¹⁶ In these circumstances, Robert Hume’s distinction between historical scholarship and historical interpretation; where one is concerned with gathering facts about context, the other focusing on the meanings of original text or text as understood by contemporaries of an earlier period, is particularly relevant.¹⁷

This requires historians of both Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement to research across both fields, with the resulting scholarship tending to both liberalist and revisionist forms of enquiry. Liberal scholars and historians tend to focus on the woodcraft and games elements of Scouting’s development in their analysis of the purpose of Scouting. They tend to see no hidden agendas in either the methodology or pedagogy and brook little criticism concerning Baden-Powell’s reputation, integrity, or originality. On the other hand, revisionists tend to see Scouting in hegemonic terms and ascribe political and militarist agendas to Baden-Powell’s methods and intent, while acknowledging the underlying ‘saving youth from itself’ nature of the programs and activities.

Of these pedagogical difficulties, the spectre of militarism and finding a suitable definition for that concept that is applicable to the Boy Scout Movement is especially problematic. Militaristic traits that appear in the Scout Movement such as a khaki uniform, broad-brimmed hat, and Troop bugler do not necessarily make the lad or the Troop militaristic. Even with the mounting concern at increased belligerence in Europe and the Pacific, Baden-Powell went to lengths to counter accusations of militarism and promote the cause of peace¹⁸ (notwithstanding evidence to the contrary). Militarism is defined in this thesis as the promotion or pursuit of military concepts, influence and actions over civilian or other non-military interests. This definition applies to individuals and organisations central to this thesis, and the particular difficulties

16 Nelson Block, ‘A Well Where Others May Drink: 100 Years of Scouting History’, in N. Block & T. Proctor, (eds), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, p. 5.

17 Robert Hume, ‘The Aims and Pitfalls of Historical Interpretation’, *Philological Quarterly*, vol. 89, no. 4, 2010, p. 353.

18 Baden-Powell, ‘International Brotherhood’, *Outlook*, December, 1911.

associated with the relationship of militarism to the Boy Scout Movement, is discussed in more detail below.¹⁹

Research Objective

The purpose of the Boy Scout Movement was to create boys who were honest, obedient to constituted authority, and loyal to the King and the British Empire. The Movement defined this process as building ‘character’.²⁰ The development of these qualities was achieved through games and activities outlined in *Scouting for Boys*.²¹ The ultimate purpose was to create a compliant patriotic pool of youth who could help defend the Empire if necessary,²² and improve the nation socially and economically.²³

Scouting has always considered itself a method ‘to educate from within, rather than to instruct from without; to offer games and activities which, while being attractive to the small boy, will educate him morally, mentally, and physically’.²⁴ Boy Scout Movements around the world share a common ideology grounded in the Scout Law and Promise. The guiding philosophy of the Law and Promise informs the content and development of the pedagogy underpinning the Movement; that by following the prescribed dictates, a Scout will develop traits of ‘good’ character, which will underpin ideals of good citizenship. However, the Movement itself did not adopt a specific educational methodology; the Scout Promise and the Law were aspirational philosophies not educational methodologies that explicitly or implicitly informed the Movement’s pedagogy.

Given the acknowledged absence of systematic research into the history of the Boy Scout Movement and the forces that shaped the Queensland Branch, this thesis will explore and develop answers to the hypothesis posed earlier concerning the founder’s influence on the formation and development of the Boy Scout Movement. Uniquely, it

19 See Craig Stockings, ‘A Survey of Military, Educational and Community Expectations of the Cadet Movement in Australia, 1886 – 2006’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2007, p. 237, footnote 5.

20 Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, London, 1924, p. 5.

21 Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys*, 1908, n.p.

22 Robert Baden-Powell, *Lessons from the ‘Varsity of Life*, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, London, 1934, p. 158.

23 Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, pp. 127-128.

24 Mario Sica, ed, ‘Robert Baden-Powell’, *Playing the Game – A Baden-Powell Compendium*, Macmillan, London, 2007, p. 288.

examines how Baden Powell's experiences from boyhood to a career-soldier influenced the development of the Boy Scout Movement in Queensland. The specific research objective is to investigate the influence Lord Robert Baden-Powell exerted on the development of the Boy Scout Movement with observations on its operation in Queensland between 1907 and 1937. This thesis is a critical evaluation — not a hagiography — the documents to be used are sufficiently extensive, far-reaching and multi-authored to achieve this.

Context of the Boy Scout Movement

The Boy Scout Movement does not exist in a vacuum. The Movement exists in several contexts, social, cultural, educational, geographical, historical, and political, and it exists in local, state, national, and international spheres. This thesis necessarily traverses all of these contexts as part of its historical enquiry. However, the nature of historical enquiry when applied to the Boy Scout Movement is challenging.

According to James Galt-Brown, early historians of Scouting, as contemporaries of and sometimes-close associates of Baden-Powell, 'demonstrate a predictable bias' towards him and the Movement at its origins.²⁵ In this (historical) context, these histories tend to focus on the benign but beneficial elements of Scouting through adventurous outdoor activities guided by a 'boy-man' leader. Charles Snow described a boy-man as a man 'of 25 to 50 years of age, who never grows older than 19'.²⁶ Although social and political contextual questions as to the purpose of the Movement arose quite early, these questions did not receive scholarly attention until the 1970s. John Springhall wrote a series of articles questioning first, the hidden political agenda behind the operation of the youth organisations of the early 1900s, then latterly Baden-Powell's motives for bringing the Boy Scout Movement into being. Others to have followed in a revisionist vein include Michael Rosenthal, John Gillis, Anne Summers, Tim Jeal, and Elleke Boehmer.

It is impractical to consider the historiographies of Baden-Powell and of the Boy Scout Movement separately, as they closely intertwine. Baden-Powell controlled the policy,

²⁵ Galt-Brown, p. 6.

²⁶ Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to the State Council, 30 June 1925, p. 9.

organisation, and most importantly, the published material of the Movement until the mid-1930s. The public perception was that Baden-Powell *was* the Scout Movement, and definitely vice versa. If it seems that there is an undue reliance on, or disproportionate references to Baden-Powell it is because the man and the Movement were inseparable. In Brisbane, the replication of that perception carried through to Charles Snow, the first Chief Scoutmaster.

Thesis Outline

The introduction to this thesis provides a theoretical background. It questions the extent to which Baden-Powell or his appointed representative influenced the underlying ideology informing the pedagogy and methodology in the development of the Boy Scout Movement. Secondly, it outlines the cultural, social, and political context in which the Movement originated. Thirdly, it explains the inseparability of Baden-Powell and the Movement in public perception. Despite ideological and pedagogical detours, the manner in which the Boy Scout Movement developed, is due in no small part to the direct influence of (and sometimes interference by) Baden-Powell.

This thesis comprises three chapters, each covering three chronological periods from 1907 to 1937. This longitudinal approach enables the evaluation and comprehensive comparison of the evolution of Baden-Powell's intentions and purposes.

Chapter 1 details the emergence of the Boy Scout Movement in Queensland, with emphasis on the influence that Baden-Powell exerted on the ideological and methodological foundations of it, including its policy, procedures, and methods. Brief mention is made of his formative years which provide critical elements in his character development that were crucial to how he perceived the Boy Scout Movement might develop. This chapter discusses Baden-Powell's philosophical beliefs, particularly his concerns about character development and citizenship, which he saw reflected in the decline of the Empire. It includes a detailed explanation and interpretation of the Scout Law and Promise on several levels, particularly how boys applied these to their Scouting activities and everyday lives. This study provides insight into the development of the Movement in Queensland through the lens of citizenship and class structures and struggles, including the reaction of the working class to the emergence of Scouting. This

chapter examines the Scouting activities of Queensland Troops contrasting their positivism with the adversarial negativism in matters of policy and management by the Council of Control.

Chapter 2 analyses the way in which Baden-Powell influenced control via his charismatic personality, through personal appointments of commissioners and managers, and via his writings. It investigates the differences of opinion as to the purpose and development that dogged the Movement during the early years, and the influence Baden-Powell tried to bring to bear on those debates. Another serious difference concerning the direction in which the Movement should proceed centred on the purpose of Scouting, and who should have a say in what that purpose and direction should be. Was Scouting a movement for peace or was it militaristic? This short-lived debate ran from 1908 to about 1918, generating bitterness and rancour in both England and Australia. It is included in this thesis because it was public, very intense and assumed major importance at the time. These differences resulted in secessionist movements springing up in England, America, Queensland, and Victoria, which adversely affected the Movement. Regardless of the intensity of these debates, and the secessions they contributed to, it did not prevent the boys pursuing their Scout activities. This chapter also details the way the Queensland Scouts went about their Scouting activities and community service.

Chapter 3 presents a detailed narrative of the period 1917-1937, when the Boy Scout Movement 'came of age'. It details Baden-Powell's beliefs in the supremacy of the Empire, and how the Dominions and Colonies would benefit from an influx of British Scout migrants. It investigates and analyses the structure of the Movement in Queensland including the way in which it imposed a top down control by the Executive on membership, voting parameters, and financial matters. Finally, this chapter explores the way the Association in Queensland engaged with the wider community and analyses leadership and youth membership issues, including the manner in which gender, religious and race factors impacted upon the Movement — not always to its benefit. Chapter 3 also briefly examines how political, economic, and sociological changes gradually outgrew Baden-Powell's influence and how he became increasingly sidelined, leading him to announce his retirement from active Scouting on 9 August 1937 at the 5th World Jamboree in the Netherlands.

The activities that the boys in Queensland engaged in is a thread that runs through this historical ethnography. That the community freely supported the Troops, as indicated by newspaper reports throughout this period, and as evidenced by its continued growth in membership, is a critical factor in the success of the Boy Scout Movement in Queensland.

Narrative versus Theoretical

This thesis adopts a narrative style of presentation with both explicit and implicit theoretical elements interspersed throughout. This is particularly relevant when the history investigates a previously unexplored arena. Narrative provides an efficient means of ensuring the reader has sufficient knowledge of the events in order to comprehend how the theory applies. This point is reinforced by Joan Burstyn who states: 'Theoretical analyses are most useful when they are used in conjunction with strong narrative skills, because unless readers have in mind some knowledge of the story that evolved, they will be unable to grasp the significance of any theory to the particular events of the time'.²⁷ A quandary facing historians since the advent of the methods of sociological theorists and statisticians was voiced by Lawrence Stone: 'Disillusionment with economic or demographic monocausal determinism and with quantification has led historians to start asking a quite new set of questions, questions which inevitably lead back to the use of narrative'.²⁸ By way of reinforcing his argument, Stone continues: 'Critics now demand supporting statistical evidence to show that the examples are typical and not exceptions to the rule'.²⁹

While narrative will always be open to revision, as new information comes to light, as David Carr argues: 'narrative is a valuable and useful implement for understanding human action'.³⁰ Noting the criticisms levelled at history, Jacques Barzun and Henry Graff insist: 'the successive revisions of the past do not cancel each other out: they are additive ... eliminating untenable views as we go'.³¹ Burstyn however argues that theory

27 Joan N. Burstyn, 'Narrative Versus Theoretical Approaches: A Dilemma for Historians of Women', *History of Education Review*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1990, p. 5.

28 Lawrence Stone, 'The revival of narrative: reflections on a new old history', *Past & Present*, no. 85 1979, p. 13.

29 Stone, pp. 10-11.

30 David Carr, 'Narrative Explanation and its Malcontents', *History and Theory*, vol. 47, no. 1, 2008, p. 30.

31 Barzun & Graff, p. 148.

should attend narrative: 'theoretical analyses are most useful when they are used in conjunction with strong narrative skills'.³² Herbert Butterfield supports this position, as cited in Bernard Bailyn: 'Where history is both a story and a study, one may gain a profounder insight into both the ways of men and the processes of time'.³³

The Historical Method

The goal of history is not to separate out events ... of different dimensions at a particular point in time but to show their continuous interaction in an evolving story. The drama of people struggling with the conditions that confine them through the cycles of limited life spans is the heart of all living history, and the development of that drama itself, not a metahistorical scheme of classifying events, must provide the framework for any effective interpretation of history.³⁴

This quote by Bernard Bailyn sums up the evolving paths that history may follow as differing or new interpretations emerge, or new artefacts discovered. It also indirectly highlights the challenge facing historians in the scholarly structuring of coherent arguments. There are however, difficulties in defining certain practices, as Gary Ianziti posits: 'Historiographical practices tend to vary across the profession. They also tend to be controversial and remain to a large extent uncoded'.³⁵ Ianziti acknowledges however that a method does exist: 'there exists among professional historians a tacit consensus regarding the conventions that govern processes such as peer review, thesis examination, and other forms of evaluation'.³⁶ Robert Hume states quite categorically that 'The principal aim of historical interpretation is to attempt to establish the meaning that the original deviser(s) of a text attempted to build into it — which can sometimes be done with considerable confidence, and sometimes with no assurance at all'.³⁷

Researchers have never questioned the existence of 'historical facts'; it is the interpretation of those 'facts' that generates debate. They are the lived experiences of

32 Burstyn, p. 5.

33 Bernard Bailyn, 'The Challenge of Modern Historiography', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 87, no. 1, 1982, p. 7, footnote 9.

34 Bailyn, p. 5.

35 Gary Ianziti, 'Historiography and its discontents', *History Australia*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2005, p. 43.2.

36 Ianziti, p. 43.2.

37 Robert Hume, 'The Aims and Pitfalls of 'Historical Interpretation'', *Philological Quarterly*, vol. 89, no. 4, 2010, p. 364.

past peoples and cultures who leave behind ‘data’ in whatever form for the historian to locate and investigate. However, as John McLeod, quoted in Donald Polkinghorne, says, ‘researchers can often fall into the trap of regarding their work as *data collection* (like picking apples from a tree) rather than construction (like writing a story)’. Polkinghorne adds that the researcher is required to dig below the surface to bring up experiential accounts.³⁸

The research undertaken by this thesis is necessarily historical in its investigation of the central research problem. Although Creswell mentions several methodologies for qualitative research, none aligns closely to truly historical research. One that does align well is described by Rodney Clarke as ‘the systematic and objective location, evaluation, and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events’.³⁹ Historical method involves the search for sources — primary and secondary, to which is applied external criticism (the genuineness of the document), and internal criticism (the applicability of the data to the study), as detailed below.

Critical Thinking

The skill set essential for the trained historian is historical method, and the thread that allows the historian to weave the narrative fabric is critical thinking. Paul Baker, cited by Liz Grauerholz and Sharon Bouma-Holtrop, conceptualises critical thinking in two ways: ‘a problem-solving process’, and as ‘a process of deductive logic and argument analysis’.⁴⁰ Critical thinking is a skill set used to compare and contrast theories and evaluate conclusions by ‘logically and systematically examining the problem, the evidence, and the solution’.⁴¹ John Santrock expresses critical thinking succinctly in plain language: ‘critical thinking involves grasping the deeper meaning of problems, keeping an open mind about different approaches and perspectives, not accepting on faith what other people and books tell you, and thinking reflectively rather than accepting the first idea that comes to mind’.⁴²

38 J. McLeod in D. Polkinghorne, ‘Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research’, *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2005, p. 141.

39 Rodney Clarke, *Research Methodologies*, University of Wollongong, 2005, p. 37.

40 Paul Barker in L. Grauerholz & S. Bouma-Holtrop, ‘Exploring Critical Sociological Thinking’, *Teaching Sociology*, vol. 31, no. 4, 2003, p. 486.

41 Anita Woolfolk, *Educational Psychology*, 5th edn, Allyn & Bacon, Massachusetts, 1993, p. 311.

42 John Santrock, *Child Development*, 7th edn, Brown & Benchmark, Iowa, 1996, p. 274.

It is Anna Jones, however, who explains the facet of critical thinking employed in this thesis as the ‘ability to examine the logic of an argument’.⁴³ Critical thinking skills used in combination with historical method provides historians with the ability to ‘take a text apart and explore its relevance, author, audience, purpose, the claims made on knowledge and truth. Further, critical thinking involves examining the biases of the text in question’, and it also involves an awareness of ambiguities, contradictions, verification of the credibility of presented arguments and facts, and an evaluation of the data generated by the research.⁴⁴

External Criticism

Cohen and Manion state that external criticism is ‘considered with establishing the authenticity or genuineness of the data’. They add that this refers to the document rather than the information in the document.⁴⁵ Frauds and forgeries perpetrated outside living memory can often be very difficult to detect in historical research. Gustaff Renier, quoted by John Milligan, refers to this as the ‘outside’, rather than concerning himself with ideas ‘inside’ the document; he first wants to know the when, where and who of the document’s provenance. The task of determining the authenticity of the documents falls to the researcher using scholarly techniques to provide them: ‘as making sure that the alleged trace [document] is not a fake or forgery’. Fortunately, archivists have maintained the majority of the primary source material researched for this thesis in original order, and with Baden-Powell’s works particularly, there is sufficient corroborating evidence from his contemporaries to authenticate their provenance. Confidence in the researcher’s knowledge and understanding of the author and by being alert to the writing style, language, and personal idiosyncrasies will enhance greater belief in the authenticity of the documents. Milligan adds a further caveat to authenticity: ‘does the source express ideas that originated with its author’⁴⁶. This is of particular concern to historians of Scouting given Baden-Powell’s known proclivity for

43 Anna Jones, ‘Multiplicities or manna from heaven? Critical thinking and the disciplinary context’, *Australian Journal of Education*, vol. 51, no. 1, 2007, p. 91

44 Jones, p. 91-92.

45 Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, *Research Methods in Education*, 3rd edn, Routledge, London, 1989, p. 57.

46 Gustaff Renier, in J. Milligan, ‘The Treatment of an Historical Source’, *History and Theory*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1979, p. 178.

‘borrowing’ from other authors.⁴⁷ However, having confirmed to the greatest possible extent the authenticity of the documents, their content still needs evaluation.

Internal Criticism

The researcher first confronts the task of establishing the credibility of the author of the document, and then attempts to establish what the real and literal meaning of that document may be — all the while staying alert to any bias or prejudice that may reflect on both the argument and the author. Richard Mason et al, argue that with the application of basic logic, determining source credibility, and ‘assessing the overall coherence of the entire collection of evidence’, seeking some internal consistency.⁴⁸ However, once the source credibility, coherence, and consistency are established, the information within the document still requires scrutiny.

Each document requires individual assessment. It is here that Reiner refers to the ‘inside’ of a document and that whereas external criticism attracts the multiplicity theory, internal criticism ‘is individual in its method’.⁴⁹ Factors that contribute to error and inaccuracy include a lack of impartiality and objectivity on the author’s part, absence of knowledge of the situation or topic, the author’s sympathies, or incompetency in recording or understanding the content. Cohen and Manion consider bias a particular problem where life histories are studied. Citing Travers, they list three elements of checking for bias; the life history informant; the social scientist researcher and the interaction involved, with a number of steps/questions that need to be dealt with in each.⁵⁰ Literature supporting occurrences and issues of common knowledge within the domain of the research, together with those supported by other credible sources is also important.

Synthesis

Having established authenticity and credibility, the next task is to piece together the accounts of the events as embraced by the research problem or objectives. Cohen and

47 Matthew Laird & Robert White, ‘Scouts’ Honour’, *The Beaver*, vol. 87, no. 3, 2007, p. 31.

48 Richard Mason, James McKenney & Duncan Copeland, ‘An Historical Method for MIS Research: Steps and Assumptions’, *MIS Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1997, p. 314.

49 Reiner in Milligan, p. 181.

50 Travers, in Cohen & Manion, p. 58.

Manion call this the ‘process of synthesis’, and citing Best, outline six problems surrounding the synthesis of historical research. These include a research problem too broadly stated; reliance on easy-to-find secondary sources in lieu of primary sources which are usually more difficult to locate but more reliable; inadequate historical criticism of the data; poor logical analysis as a result of oversimplification or over generalisation; presence of personal bias, and poor reporting style.⁵¹

Competent synthesis minimises these risks and produces an optimum historical analysis from the known sources. By utilising the critical thinking skills mentioned earlier working hypotheses are formed, structured on the evidence disclosed in the data. This permits the simultaneous development of a range of hypotheses, while actively seeking evidence to confirm, deny, or alter each of the working hypotheses. Jones, citing Braxton, argues that in the ‘soft, pure disciplines’, such disciplines require the ability to ‘synthesise, discuss and develop an argument’, and the ability to think laterally, develop clarity of expression and interpretation and evaluation of theoretical perspectives’.⁵²

Difficulties with Data Collection

There are five main sources of primary data for this thesis: Baden-Powell’s published documents, Baden-Powell’s unpublished manuscripts, diaries and letters; works by Scout leaders and officials; Queensland and interstate Scout archives, and Queensland Government libraries and archives.

Boy Scout archives in England, America, and Canada, together with private collections hold much of Baden-Powell’s unpublished documents. As a reaction to recent highly critical works (Rosenthal, Springhall), and negative publicity concerning court action, access is limited.

The creation of Scout archives in Australia has not been a high priority as establishment and maintenance is an expense that most branches would rather not incur. Further, the Queensland Branch archives suffered considerable damage in the 2011 flood, and while restoration has commenced, the size of the task and the voluntary labour nature of the

⁵¹ Cohen & Manion, pp. 59-60.

⁵² Braxton, in Jones, p. 87.

work makes it a long term project. The work that has been done however, has provided valuable resources.

Introduction to the Literature

Addressing the pedagogical challenges mentioned earlier, and analysing the issues they raise requires a detailed but nuanced review of the literature, and early attempts by historians to address them. Valued research data comprises historical and contemporary documents that present multi-valanced views on Baden-Powell, the boy, the man, the soldier, and finally, the Scout. From these sources, including his own works, it is possible to discern issues that affected him and how in turn these issues influenced the development of the Movement in Queensland.

Baden-Powell's numerous works, both published and unpublished are a significant primary source for this thesis. He wrote his published works to put himself in the best light, even though his racism, morbid fear of male sexuality, and his supreme belief in himself and the Empire are evident.⁵³ However, it is in his *Scouting for Boys: a Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, wherein he reveals many aspects of his character, his views on the Empire and its Imperial objectives, and its multi-voiced appeal to young boys the world over. Many have described the book as a hastily put together collection of ramshackle ideas, self-help, recycled advice, inaccurate borrowings, black entertainment, and boys-own adventures in exotic far off lands, which it is; and a lot more besides.⁵⁴ It was designed as a weekly six-part edition of twenty-eight 'camp-fire yarns' evoking an intimate mateship sharing experience of like-minded boys. It has very little continuity, which enhances its appeal to young boys; they can cherry pick the bits that interest them, hopping from one yarn to the next in random order.⁵⁵ Elleke Boehmer succinctly summarises the structure: 'If B-P casually

53 On Baden-Powell's racism see, *The Downfall of Prempeh*, Methuen & Co, London, 1900, p. 20; on his obsession with male sexuality see, *Scouting For Boys*, 1908, pp. 359-360. On his beliefs about the supremacy of the British Empire see, *Outlook*, Selected articles from *The Scouter*: 1909-1941, Boy Scouts Association, London, 1944, for example, March 1911, July 1921, August 1926, and April 1940.

54 See: Mary Drewery, *Baden-Powell – The Man Who Lived Twice*, National Council of Scouts, Canada, 1975, pp. 97-103, and Tim Jeal, *The Boy-Man: The Life of Lord Baden-Powell*, William Morrow and Co, New York, 1989, pp. 390-397. See also, Laszlo Nagy, *250 Million Scouts*, Dartnell Publishers, Chicago, 1985, pp. 50-63; Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, Collins, London, 1986, pp. 160-190.

55 Jeal, p. 391.

cannibalized the texts of many other writers [which he did], he did not scruple to recycle his own works also'.⁵⁶ However, as Boehmer points out in her meticulously edited version, *Scouting for Boys* is a lot more than a book of boys' yarns. It crosses, she argues, a 'variety of different narratives and influences [that] encapsulates in microcosm the multilayered, globalized, and commercial world of the British Empire'. She continues that as a metaphor for the Public School ethos, which Mack argues is 'less a place where knowledge is imparted and a boy's intellectual capacities developed, than a social microcosm designed to mould its members into the shape of upper class gentlemen',⁵⁷ the book forms one of the Empire's and Scouting's most influential cultural exports.⁵⁸

Throughout the more than thirty works Baden-Powell devoted to the underlying pedagogy and methodology reviewed for this thesis, two recurring themes in his writings present themselves; firstly, Scouting's purpose was service to the Empire, and maintenance and expansion of the Empire was all-important. Secondly, the Dominions and Colonies were the lynchpin in that Imperial imperative. However, the Movement's internally produced histories and documents suffer from a lack of scholarly rigour. They tend to ignore the problems Baden-Powell confronted in his youth, his military career, or as the founder of the Boy Scouts. They gloss over his authoritarian style of leadership, which was to cause severe dislocation,⁵⁹ his on-going interference in the internal affairs of Scouting in other countries,⁶⁰ the contentious issues such as the racial confrontation in South African Scouting in 1926,⁶¹ and his damaging gaffe in India in 1937.⁶²

A further valuable primary source is the minutes and reports of the Queensland Branch of the Scout Association. These commence on 7 September 1909 shortly after the original patrols began in Brisbane (when the leaders saw the need to put in place a formal structure), and they continue to the present day. When read collectively and individually these documents demonstrate the extent to which themes of leadership, control, and

56 Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, (1908), Elleke Boehmer (ed), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, p. xi, footnote 2.

57 Edward Mack, 'The English Public School: A Symbol and a Portent', *The Educational Forum*, vol. 6, no.2, 1942, p. 193.

58 Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys*, 2004, pp. xviii; xxi

59 'London Boy Scouts. A Serious disagreement: Military and democratic rule', *The Advertiser*, 11 January 1910, p. 11.

60 Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting Diary of Australian Visit*, 1912, Scout Association (UK) Archives, TC 49, SAA.

61 Robert Baden-Powell, *South African Diary*, 26 November 1926. Scout Association (UK) Archives, TC 9, SAA.

62 Letter Sir Byranjee Jeejeebhoy to C. H. Tyrell, 16 August 1937, TC 51, SAA.

finances influenced decision-making, policy development, and implementation. In doing so, several striking patterns emerge from a close reading of these documents. These patterns include a use of language that indicates a conservative approach to most issues, a use of authority, and its delegation to achieve control, and a concern with formalism and tradition that required modification as the 20th century developed.

In the wider historiography of the period, many works predicted a rapid decline in the Empire's social, commercial, and military status in Europe. Ian Hamilton lamented, 'Thousands in our islands see the danger, but do not see that salvation must come from within'.⁶³ History proved him correct and it was into this climate that the Boy Scouts emerged. Eileen Wade, an early biographer, argues that Baden-Powell initially devised a scheme to save the nation's youth from degeneracy: 'to earnestly help in however small a way, to turn the rising generation on to the right road for good citizenship',⁶⁴ thus providing salvation from within. Similarly, Ernest Reynolds, quoting from Baden-Powell's pamphlet, *Boy Scouts: Summary of a Scheme*, states that 'instruction in the many qualities which go to make a good citizen equally [make] a good Scout. Reynolds cites observation and deduction, chivalry, patriotism, self-sacrifice, [and] personal hygiene', as being the essential attributes to this process.⁶⁵ Sir Percy Everett, one of the first Scout Commissioners in Britain quotes Baden-Powell's talk with King Edward VII: 'he is especially pleased with the fact ... that [we are] willing and able to help our country if called upon to do so'.⁶⁶ But Julia Messner states that Baden-Powell was careful not to promote Scouting as a military training scheme, assuring parents that Boy Scouts had no militarist objectives.⁶⁷ Likewise, Allen Warren argues that the ideological infrastructure of Scouting emphasised training for citizenship; mostly educational in style, but accepting of values of patriotism and religious commitment.⁶⁸ In an effort to play down the militarist argument, he states that in February 1914, the Boy Scouts had 'declined the offer of a bounty for all ex-Scouts who became members of the London Territorial Association'.⁶⁹

63 Ian Hamilton, *National Life and National Training*, P. S. King & Son, London, 1913, p. 16.

64 Eileen Wade, *Twenty-One Years of Scouting*, London, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1929, p. 15.

65 Ernest Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, Oxford University Press, London, 1950. p. 10.

66 Percy Everett, *The First Ten Years*, The East Anglian Daily Times, England, 1948, p. 55.

67 Julia Messner, ' "Good, Upright Young Citizens"? Lived Experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia', MA thesis, University of Technology, Sydney, 2004, p. 19.

68 Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 101, no. 399, 1986, p. 392-393.

69 Warren, p. 391.

Earlier, this thesis noted the tendency for historians to favour either a liberal or a revisionist approach to issues associated with the Scouting Movement.⁷⁰ This distinction now becomes particularly important in addressing the specific difficulties associated with militarism. The militarist literature focuses on the debates as to whether and to what extent the Boy Scout Movement might serve as a recruiting pool for the military. Revisionists such as Anne Summers disagrees with Warren's 'Scouting as citizenship' characterisation of the Movement, citing local Voluntary Aid Detachment records that show both Boy Scout and Girl Guide cooperation with the military had not diminished through 1914.⁷¹ Michael Rosenthal and John Springhall, ascribe further a substantial hidden agenda in the motives of not only Baden-Powell, but in R. B. Haldane the Secretary of State for War who thought Boy Scouts could be a reserve for the Territorials, a new home defence force created by Haldane.⁷² Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief in Whitehall,⁷³ and Admiral Beresford, also considered Scouts could be responsible for the maintenance of the Empire.⁷⁴

Rosenthal cites a letter by Baden-Powell addressed to the cadet corps at Eton, published in the *Eton Chronicle*, in which he states that the cadets should recruit others in their street or village and teach them how to aim and shoot with miniature rifles, how to drill, skirmish and take cover and how to Scout.⁷⁵ Other scholars disagree, often strongly, about whether and to what extent the Scouting Movement was militaristically oriented. For example, John Springhall states categorically that Baden-Powell organised the Scout Movement with one primary motive: 'to prepare the next generation of British soldiers for war and defence of the empire'.⁷⁶ Tim Jeal however, takes exception to what he considers Rosenthal's unsubstantiated claims on several issues, among them Baden-Powell's alleged racism and ill-treatment of the native population of Mafeking.⁷⁷ Ian Buruma also takes Rosenthal to task for his 'progressive efforts to debunk the Chief

70 See page 15. 'This requires historians of both Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement to...'.
 71 Anne Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in reply to Allen Warren', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 405, 1987, p. 945.

72 Jeal, p. 373.

73 Zara Steiner, 'Views of War: Britain before the Great War – and After', *International Relations*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2003, p. 15.

74 Wade, *Twenty-One Years of Scouting*, p. 20.

75 Michael Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 15, 1980, p. 606.

76 John Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?' *The English Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 405, 1987, p. 935.

77 For comments on the treatment of the native population during and after the siege of Mafeking see Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, p. 41; Kenneth Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media', *20th Century British History*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2002, p. 7.

Scout's mythology', arguing that whereas Jeal carefully weighs its many ambiguities, Rosenthal bludgeons it into the shape of his often 'anachronistic opinions'.⁷⁸ While there are instances where Jeal has been less thorough,⁷⁹ his work is vastly important because it traces the influences that shaped Baden-Powell's life from childhood; influences that were seminal in the development of the Boy Scout Movement.

Tim Jeal cites flaws in the literature concerning the inability of scholars to separate, for example, Baden-Powell's interest in the educational and character development potential of Scouting on the one hand and his involvement in the cadet corps and rifle shooting on the other.⁸⁰ However, Nelson Block questions Jeal's reasoning and makes the further point that while the professional history community is comfortable with most of Jeal's work, the mainstream media have taken some of his more speculative comments as fact.⁸¹ It is fair to say that both Rosenthal and Springhall have blurred the distinction between nationalism and militarism and further, that Warren and Summers are selective in their interpretation of history. However, Baden-Powell's vision of the Boy Scout Movement was multi-dimensional, although it is possible to detect both 'peace-Scout' and 'war-Scout' elements in all its dimensions.

Richard Voeltz is one of the few scholars to posit a multi-dimensional conceptual ideology of Scouting. This includes nationalism, internationalism, militarism, social Darwinism, social imperialism, Baden-Powell's nature worship, and the 'Edwardian cult of national efficiency and rejection of modern urban civilisation'.⁸² However, he does not elaborate on these concepts to any length, nor has anyone else according to James Galt-Brown, who argues 'that no previous work has provided a comprehensive, reliable history of the Boy Scout organisation'.⁸³ Regardless of the conceptual elements contained in the Boy Scout Movement, a primary objective was to educate its members.

78 Ian Buruma, 'A Bad Scout', *New York Review of Books*, June 28, 1990, n.p.

79 In dismissing Seton's accusations of plagiarism against Baden-Powell, Jeal (p. 380), overlooks Baden-Powell's own acknowledgement of Seton's contribution; (*Outlook*, Selected articles from The Scouter, January 1914); Warren, p. 386. Jeal (p. 163), passes off Baden-Powell's racism as a 'common European mistake', and 'misunderstanding [of] his recruits *en masse*'. However, as Elleke Boehmer points out, Baden-Powell had no qualms about borrowing wholesale from any author, frequently without acknowledgement, p. xi, footnote 2.

80 Jeal, p. 409.

81 Block, p. 6.

82 Richard Voeltz, 'Reflections on Baden-Powell, the British Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Racism, Militarism and Feminism', *The Contemporary West*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1997, p. 1.

83 Galt-Brown, p. 23.

Scouting has always considered itself a ‘method’ of education in character development that progresses from peer group guidance to self-directed learning.

Stephen Booker McLay’s thesis on Scouting in Queensland from 1909 to 1939,⁸⁴ and Julia Messner’s study of the lived experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in New South Wales offered valuable insights for this study.⁸⁵ In addition, Sally Marshall’s thesis on the Victorian Scout Movement,⁸⁶ and Leah Simon’s analysis of Scouts and Cadets at Prince Alfred College contained useful information.⁸⁷ Theses on Scouting in England⁸⁸, Canada⁸⁹ and America⁹⁰, provided a broader contextual structure for argument development.

Footnoting and Bibliography.

This thesis uses the Documentary-Note system for footnoting and the bibliography, as detailed in *Style Manual for Authors, Editors and Printers*, 6th edn, John Wiley & Sons, 2002. (ISBN: 978 0 7016 36487). See particularly pp. 208–214; pp. 230–231. Minutes and Reports in the format adopted by the Queensland Branch of Scouting are not covered in the *Style Manual*, however, a uniform style of footnoting these has been adopted throughout the thesis.

84 Stephen Booker McLay, ‘The Scout Movement in Queensland 1909 – 1939: Its Origins, its expansion, its role’, BEd Hons thesis, Department of Social and Cultural Studies in Education, James Cook University, Queensland, 1987.

85 Messner, 2004.

86 Sally Marshall, ‘The Victorian Boy Scout Movement: A Case Study of Adaptation from Edwardian Times to Today’, MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 1989.

87 Leah Simons, ‘Princes Men: Masculinity at Prince Alfred College 1960–1965’, PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2001.

88 Galt-Brown, 2002;

89 Scott Johnston, ‘Looking Wide? Imperialism, Internationalism, and the Boy Scout Movement, 1918–1939’, MA thesis, University of Waterloo, Canada, 2012; Ross Bragg, ‘The Boy Scout Movement in Canada: Defining constructs of masculinity for the twentieth century’, MA thesis, Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, 1995.

90 Benjamin Jordan, ‘“A Modest Manliness”: The Boy Scouts of America and the Making of Modern Masculinity, 1910–1930’, PhD thesis, University of California, 2009.

CHAPTER 1

Origins: Creation, Character, and Citizenship

INTRODUCTION

The creation of the Boy Scout Movement and the gradual evolution of other youth groups, for example, Church Lads' Brigade, the Boys' Brigade, the Boys' Life Brigade and the YMCA, was a reaction to growing concerns surrounding a perceived moral and physical decay in the empire. This arose after a survey in 1903 found many men unfit for military service.¹ Baden-Powell believed the answer lay with training the youth of the Empire in character traits of loyalty and obedience, and set about putting his ideas in motion. The establishment of the Boy Scout Movement in England in 1908 and Queensland the following year, reflected concerns about these issues.

The Movement in Queensland trod an initially hesitant path as patrols formed independently of each other before an organisation slowly formed to take control. Queensland was a large State, with less than a quarter of the population living in Brisbane, and with some thirty percent engaged in rural occupations.² However, that did not stop boys throughout the state enthusiastically embracing the idea of Scouting, as evidenced by a steady increase in membership.³

Character formation is a central tenet of the Scout Movement. A recurring theme of character development existed within the Scout Promise and Law, with the content of both influenced by Baden-Powell's boyhood and military experiences, his Imperial vision of the Empire, and expectations of the citizenry. Racial purity and healthy Christian masculinity combined with honour and loyalty were other touchstones of his philosophy.

1 Richard Soloway, 'Counting the Degenerates: The Statistical Race of Deterioration in Edwardian England', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 17, no. 137, 1982, p. 140.

2 Ross Fitzgerald, Lyndon Megarrity & David Symons, *Made in Queensland: A New History*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 2009, p. 68.

3 From the approximate 40 boys enrolled in 1908, membership for the year ended 30 June 1938 was 4,500. Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1938, p. 4.

Baden-Powell's intention when forming the Boy Scout Movement was to attract all boys regardless of social class,⁴ although he aimed to attract lower middle class and working class youth particularly. Central to the purpose of Scouting was the creation of citizens who would be of service to the State. Baden-Powell's social-Imperialist inclination loomed large in his views on the restructuring of society, particularly in matters affecting youth, and these carried through to the initial philosophy and ideology of the Boy Scout Movement.

PART 1: CREATION

In Queensland, Scouting began in an informal, unorganised manner. General Baden-Powell as the Hero of Mafeking had received mention in Australian newspapers for several years and his Boy Scout scheme began to attract attention soon after he raised the first Troops in England at the beginning of 1908. There were, he said, '1,750,000 boys in the United Kingdom [who] were now drifting and many of them going to bad'.⁵ Queensland had its share of these, as the *Brisbane Courier* stated: 'It is strange that in the midst of the cry for population that so little recognition is given to the number of idle youths who do nothing day after day but lounge in the shade of hotel fences and sheds'.⁶

Lesleigh Williams of Bowen Hills, Brisbane, was told about a book on display in a shop window.⁷ It was *Scouting for Boys*, and he lost no time in securing a copy. Williams was a Sunday School teacher at the Bowen Hills Congregational church. He began a patrol at New Farm. Leonard Lovejoy of Ashgrove had a Boy Scout relative in England who had sent him photographs and articles on the Movement. Lovejoy wrote to Gamages in London for a copy of *Scouting for Boys*. He ran a Gordon Club, a club for local boys, at the Ashgrove Methodist church and organised a patrol there. Charles Smethurst Snow grew up in Brisbane. He worked as a watchmaker in the family business, and was a Boys' Club Leader and choirmaster at St Mary's Anglican Church at Kangaroo Point. After a visiting member of the Sydney Boy Scouts spoke to him,⁸ he formed a patrol at

4 Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys*, 1908, p. 49.

5 'Today', *The Brisbane Courier*, 27 November 1907, p. 4.

6 'Our Surplus Population', *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 April 1906, p. 4

7 Leslie Slaughter, *Baden-Powell: Boy Scouts Centenary Jubilee, 1857-1907-1957*, The Boy Scouts Association, Queensland Branch, 1957, p. 10.

8 Slaughter, p. 10.

Kangaroo Point, while Septimus Davis, a traffic auditor for the Railways Department conducted a Boys Club at St Thomas's Anglican church Toowong and formed a patrol there. Dating from late 1908, these four patrols are the first in Queensland.⁹

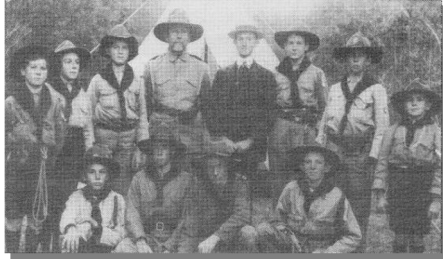


Figure 1: S/M Septimus Davis and his Toowong Troop



Figure 2: S/M Leonard Lovejoy and his Ashgrove Troop

Donald Macdonald, the Victorian Scout branch correspondent, writing in the *Queensland Times* stated: 'Scouting for Boys is not a new idea. It has been going on ever since there were boys in the world'. He was quick to recognise the value of the message in *Scouting for Boys*, namely that 'everything which the boy learns [in Scouting] ... is of use to him in the ordinary walks of life'.¹⁰

Scouting for Boys became the 'bible' of Scouting for more than sixty years, and has its roots in Baden-Powell's boyhood. At eight years of age, he wrote 'Laws for me when I am old'. Herein he commands that 'poor people will be as rich as we are ... [that] all who go across the crossings will give the crossing sweeper some money ... [and] you must pray to God, but cannot be good with only praying, but you must try hard to be good'.¹¹ Within the eight-year-old's thoughts lie the first glimpse of character development and the genesis of the Scout Law and Promise; duty to God, helpfulness, courteousness, and doing a good turn. Distilled into the book were Baden-Powell's experiences at Charterhouse Public School where the essence of its pedagogy did not lie in formal academic instruction; rather the boy was shaped into a type; there was more emphasis on character and 'playing the game', both on and off the field. Above all else, there was loyalty and honour, cornerstones of the Scout Law and Promise. The English Public Schools were the shaping influence in the lives of large sections of the ruling

⁹ Ralph Fones, *In the Light of all the Years, A History of Scouting in Queensland*, The Scout Association of Australia, Queensland Branch, 1992, p. 3.

¹⁰ 'The Boy Scout' *Queensland Times*, 28 April 1909, p. 3.

¹¹ Jeal, p. 16.

elite; here a boy received moulding to reflect middle or upper class beliefs and behaviour patterns.¹²

John Fox describes *Scouting for Boys* as a ‘ramshackle miscellany of borrowings, anecdotes, natural history, first aid, useful knowledge, and recycled advice’, which was sub-titled, ‘a handbook for instruction in good citizenship’. However, Fox goes further, arguing that the book was ‘peppered with racist and class-based remarks’, and adopted a ‘resolutely colonial tone, outrageous[ly] plundered the cultures of other people, meanwhile denying them membership in humanity’.¹³ However, Elleke Boehmer takes a more nuanced view, citing the volume as a protomodernist text that takes on the ‘ideological burdens of imperial expansion, inculcating the values of service and discipline — and of racial self-defensiveness and self-promotion — that will consolidate the white Greater Britain beyond the seas’.¹⁴ In Queensland, questions related more to how Scouting would affect the boy. *The Brisbane Courier* reported, ‘But reading some of the things laid down in *Scouting for Boys* we have the best answer’.¹⁵ While the focus in suburban and country Queensland was for boys to find others of like mind and seek a leader to set up a local patrol, fealty to the mother country was strong.

The Boy Scout Movement in Queensland provided strong cultural ties to Britain, and oaths of loyalty to God and the King were taken very seriously. At the time of Federation, the States of Australia still viewed themselves as outposts of the Empire, and the social and cultural inheritance resonated as fervently British. Australia depended materially, commercially and to some extent militarily on Britain. The expression ‘mother country’ echoed throughout the State, the Union Jack flew from every masthead, and patriotism was the nexus that expressed the emotional and cultural bond to the Empire.¹⁶ Queensland’s Agent General was fulsome in lauding the relationship between ‘the Queen’s Land was her [Queen Victoria’s] own selection ... of which fact the people of Queensland have always been rightfully proud’.¹⁷ At this time, Queensland was very much a frontier state. Almost one-third of the population worked in pastoral

12 Steiner, p. 16.

13 John Fox, ‘Lord Robert Baden-Powell (1857–1941)’, *Prospects*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2013, p. 257.

14 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 2004, p. xix.

15 ‘Boy Scouts’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 10 May 1910, p. 7. The article was written by J. Milliken and the ‘we’ refers to the Scout Movement.

16 ‘What We Owe the Empire’, *Daily Mercury*, 2 June 1910, p. 2; ‘Political Notes’, *Western Star and Roma Advertiser*, 26 June 1911, p. 3.

17 ‘Queensland and the Empire’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 April, 1901, p. 9.

industries and although the commercial classes were in a minority, the state was opening up.¹⁸

Queensland's primary and secondary industries were expanding at an accelerating rate. The dairy industry had 'attained a fair reputation in distant markets', and 'the representatives of the Co-operative Dairy Companies were alive to the importance of the dairy produce export trade of Queensland'.¹⁹ Mining also contributed significantly to revenues. The Under-Secretary for Mines, R. Macdonald, reported that mineral production for 1909 totalled £3,656,564.²⁰ At the same time, the Government was debating railway infrastructure. In December 1910, the Great Western Railway Bill and the North Coast Railway Bill, considered critical to the opening up of the State, came before parliament. The affirmative argument engendered support by the mention of freight income in excess of £800,000, much of it from the State's primary industries generated over the previous year.²¹ This opening up of the State saw Scout Troops commence in the major regional centres and take their place as an accepted part of the community. 'Quietly and unobtrusively, the Boy Scout Movement has been extended to Rockhampton' the *Morning Bulletin* reported.²² The Movement continued to spread rapidly and the *Brisbane Courier* recounted that by October 1909, 'there [are] some 200 Scouts and about 30 patrols awaiting registration [and] there are patrols forming at Boonah, Toowoomba, Townsville, and suburban districts'.²³ In Cairns, H. W. Harrison of the Strand Hotel was keen to support the introduction of Scouting there, by offering to supply half a dozen outfits, 'if those in charge of this movement will let me know where to leave them'.²⁴

As Donald Macdonald, Scouting correspondent for *The Argus*, argued, 'No social evolution ... can separate the boy from his nature. You only need to have been a boy — above all, an isolated boy, often lonely, bush-boy — to realise this fact'²⁵. Although Queensland had a strong working class labour force, the 'Society Classes' strove 'to

18 Fitzgerald et al, p. 68.

19 'The Dairy Produce Export Trade', *The Capricornian*, 26 March 1910, p. 3

20 'Mining Industry', *The Northern Miner*, 22 March 1910, p. 7.

21 'National Railways Proposal', *Queensland Times*, 1 December 1910, p. 4.

22 'Boy Scouts in Rockhampton', *Morning Bulletin*, 30 August 1910, p. 5.

23 'Our Scouts: The Australian League', *The Brisbane Courier*, 16 October 1909, p. 4.

24 'Boy Scout'. *Cairns Post*, 1 December 1909, p. 5.

25 'The Boy Scout'. *Queensland Times*, 28 April 1909, p. 3.

modify as little as possible the old world of social relations of master and servant'.²⁶ Not only was Queensland a younger state, but also it did not have the economic strength or population base of the southern states. The emerging nationalist movements were concentrated in the southern states, particularly through the efforts of the Australian Natives Association. Decrying the perception that Australian men were lazy, foul-mouthed, and lacking respect for authority, the ANA actively linked Australian nature and nationalism, which they saw as a way to build good citizens with strong character. They were of course loyal to the Empire, but the ANA considered that Australian nationalism could see Australians doing a lot more for Australia, and they supported all youth groups who were vigorously pursuing the creation of good character and citizenship.²⁷

While Scouting emerged in Queensland in much the same way as it did in the rest of Australia, the organisational structure was very local. By the end of 1909, there were about 500 Scouts in all of Queensland,²⁸ while Sydney alone could boast approximately 2200.²⁹ The Education sector supported Scouting, as it believed there was a common purpose in building character in children. Reginald Roe, Inspector General of the Queensland Department of Public Instruction claimed in 1912 that of all the valuable work that voluntary organisations did for sport, mental and moral improvement, 'Character is even more important for a people's welfare ... supplemented increasingly by the cooperation of all these non-scholastic forces which play an important part in the development of national character'.³⁰ Roe was a believer in the English Public School model; he regarded the junior and senior cadets as 'Children of the Empire, and expected boys to become 'manly citizens in the professions'.³¹ Baden-Powell agreed with these views.

Initially, the Scout Patrols in Queensland worked completely independent of and in ignorance of each other, but it was not long before they established communication, and as more and more boys took up the call, the leaders realised that some form of organisation was essential to coordinate their activities. While the day-to-day

26 Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2007, p. 148.

27 Libby Robin, 'Nationalising Nature: Wattle Days in Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 2002, p. 9.

28 Booker-McLay, p. 116.

29 Robert Packer, 'The Boy Scouts', *The Lone Hand*, 2 August 1909, p. 382

30 Reginald Roe, Queensland Parliamentary Papers 1913, Thirty-Seventh Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for 1912.

31 Tom Watson, 'Reginald Roe: The Cultured Inspector General, 1909-1917', in E. Clarke & T. Watson, (eds), *Soldiers of the Service: Some Early Queensland Educators and their Schools*, Volume 2, History of Queensland Education Society, Brisbane, 1996, p. 183.

organisation and operation of Scouting in Queensland was in the hands of local officers, Baden-Powell strictly controlled the ideology, aims, and objectives from London. On 19 July 1909, eleven men including Snow, Davis, Lovejoy, and Williams met in the Commercial Traveller's Club in Brisbane, and a second meeting in September centred on formalising the organisation. Without reference to London, the 'Australian League Boy Scouts, Queensland Section', came into being. At that meeting, Charles Snow received appointment as Chief Scoutmaster, Secretary, and Treasurer, and they created the Council of Control on 1 October 1909.³²

In December 1909, *The Brisbane Courier* announced it was the official publicity organ of the Scout Movement in Queensland and reported the activities of the League weekly and in some detail.³³ Following Baden-Powell's lead, the Queensland Council was proactive in engendering community support, 'having commended itself to many of our leading citizens because of the high principles enjoined upon all connected with it and ready hands were held out to help it forward in the interests of the young people of the State'.³⁴

The rapid growth of the Movement, both in Queensland and internationally, necessitated affiliation. Early in 1910, the Australian League of Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, sent a letter to Imperial Headquarters, London, stating that they were 'desirous of affiliating with the Home Headquarters'. The letter goes on to say that 'the Council was formed in October 1909 [and] so far as can be ascertained the Council have 45 Troops and 950 Scouts'.³⁵ In July 1910 Archibald Kyle, Manager of the London office replied to Septimus Davies stating 'the Headquarters Council have great pleasure in affiliating your Council with the Home Headquarters. The names of the Council will be duly gazetted'. As a subtle means of asserting its influence, Imperial Headquarters registered the name of the movement in Queensland as the 'League of Baden-Powell Scouts, Queensland Section'.³⁶

³² Slaughter, p. 13.

³³ *The Brisbane Courier*, 24 December 1909, p. 10.

³⁴ *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1910, p. 5.

³⁵ Septimus Davies, Letter to Boy Scout Headquarters, London, 1910, (reproduction held in Scouts Australia, Queensland Branch, Heritage Archival Reference Centre).

³⁶ Archibald Kyle, Letter to Australia League of Boy Scouts, 1910, (reproduction held in Scouts Australia, Queensland Branch, Heritage Archival Reference Centre),

Jurisdiction was also exercising the minds of the Council in Queensland. The members called a special meeting on 19 May 1910, specifically to ‘deal with certain matters of disloyalty and insubordination’. At this time there was no formal constitution for the Queensland section where rules and regulations governing the administration and operation of the Movement were spelt out, thus at that very same meeting a Sub-Committee of five people received appointment to draft a constitution.³⁷

On 13 September 1910, the Council — called the Council of Control — adopted and printed a formal constitution. It contained the rules for the administration of the organisation, including regulations for the conduct of Scout Troops, the approved uniform, and qualifications of the Scoutmasters. The Council of Control oversaw the organisation and administration of each Scout Troop in Queensland. It set out the style, object, and governance of the League, including rules and regulations for the conduct of Leaders, Scouts, and Committees.

Governance was vested in the hands of the Council of Control which included various office bearer positions and ‘influential gentlemen interested in the Movement’. A Central Executive Committee was drawn from the Council of Control, and within this Executive the real control rested, having the power to appoint and dismiss anyone associated with the Movement for disloyalty or impropriety, ‘over the signature of the Chief Scoutmaster on what he may consider to be sufficient cause’.³⁸ This focused considerable power in the hands of twenty-eight year old Charles Snow (in 1910), and came to be resented.

When promulgated, the constitution met with immediate resistance because of the manner of appointment of the members of the Council of Control. The Sandgate Group wrote to the Council of Control complaining of this. *The Brisbane Courier* reported:

That this committee, having carefully considered the draft constitution submitted to them, disapproves of the principle on which the council of control is based — namely, nomination instead of election — and

³⁷ Minutes, Special Meeting, Council of Control, Australian League of Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, 19 May 1910, p. 1. Unless otherwise stated, minutes and reports of or to meetings refer to the Queensland Section.

³⁸ League of Baden-Powell Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, *Constitution*, 1910.

is of opinion that before adopting any constitution the different centres of the State be invited to form committees, who shall send delegates to a conference, whose duty it shall be to elect officers for the current year and frame a constitution.³⁹

The *Cairns Post* succinctly outlined their complaint, saying that while one delegate from each local committee would be a member of the Council, the principal office-bearers were invited to serve, and that the Central Executive Committee would comprise people selected by the Council.⁴⁰ Given that the Council of Control at a meeting on 1 October, (pre-dating the Constitution), nominated the Central Executive Committee, then Sandgate's complaint seems justified. The Sandgate Group wanted representation on the Council of Control and received advice that their concerns would merit serious consideration. A delegation from the Central Executive Committee met with the Sandgate Group, but confirmed that the constitution would stand as is. The Central Executive Committee brushed off the matter, recording: 'it was decided that a copy of the constitution be forwarded to the Sandgate Committee'.⁴¹ At the same time, the Council recognised the need to put in place a more decentralised organisational structure.

The scattered location of Scout Troops in a state as large as Queensland necessitated the development of a hierarchical structure, with five or six Scout Troops forming a Division. The Council of Control appointed and administered Local Associations headed by a Commissioner without reference to or ratification by London. Cubs and Rovers came into being, and together with a Scout Troop, comprised a Scout Group. Appointed leaders supported by a committee of parents ran each group. During 1920, the Council of Control created Districts as administrative bodies within the Divisions; thus a Cub Pack, Scout Troop, and a Rover Crew made a Group; several Groups made a District, and a small number of Districts made a Division.⁴² It was of course the youth of the day who made up the membership, and their development was of prime concern.

39 'Metropolitan Districts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 10 October 1910, p. 5.

40 'Boy Scout Movement', *Cairns Post*, 18 October, 1910, p. 5

41 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 25 October 1910, p. 2.

42 Slaughter, pp. 18-53.

In common with other countries, and other Australian States, emerging adolescence in Queensland produced troublesome youths who caused concern. Shirleene Robinson and Emily Wilson argue that during the second half of the nineteenth century, the range of behaviour considered appropriate for children narrowed considerably; one of the main issues being youth on the streets at night; a concern that primarily targeted working class children.⁴³ The press readily confirmed these views. In October 1910, *The Brisbane Courier* reported the assault conviction of members of Brisbane's Calvert Push, and *The Sunday Times* wrote about the Rocks Larrikins at work again in Sydney.⁴⁴ *The Argus* reported Melbourne's Emu 'Push' being defeated by the police, and a paper called *The Week* opposed the Boy Scouts, arguing that there would be 'undoubted risk to morals ... involved in this vagabondising and rapsallionising about the country at all hours of the night. Those parents who approve of it are welcome to their opinion; but the really responsible parent will have none of it'.⁴⁵

Lord Horatio Kitchener, Field-Marshal of the British army and colonial administrator was of the opposite view. When inspecting a Leicester Scout Troop in 1911, he said: 'The more I know of the Scout Organisation ... the more fully persuaded I am that it should appeal to every father and mother who desires to bring their son up well'.⁴⁶ In Queensland, the Movement was gaining in popularity, as reported by the State's press. *The Queensland Times* report that Major C. Watson met a number of boys in Ipswich 'with the object of forming Scout patrols'⁴⁷ and in Cairns 'a fine troop of scouts has been formed ... under Scoutmaster Q. Hunter'.⁴⁸ Australia's Women's Anti-Socialist Conference meeting in Brisbane in 1909 voiced their support of the Scout Movement. They 'commended the formation of the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts; their oaths of allegiance — including duty to God and the King'.⁴⁹ However, the Methodist Conference of 1910 was a little more cautious, acknowledging the 'many valuable features of the Boy Scouts Movement', but sought a meeting to prevent 'any conflict

43 Shirleene Robinson & Emily Wilson, 'Preserving the traditions of a 'great race': youth and national character in Queensland, 1859-1918', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 94, no. 2, 2008, pp. 173-174.

44 *The Brisbane Courier*, 29 October 1910, p. 4; *Sunday Times*, 14 May 1911, p. 7.

45 *The Week*, 13 May 1910, p. 19; *The Argus*, 13 April 1910, p. 10.

46 *The Glasgow Herald*, 19 April 1911, p. 12; 'The Boy Scouts', *Queensland Times*, 28 February 1923, p. 10.

47 'Boy Scout Movement', *Queensland Times*, 27 January 1910, p. 6.

48 'Our Scouts: Baden-Powell League', *The Brisbane Courier*, 30 July 1910, p. 14.

49 'Women in Conference', *The Brisbane Courier*, 5 August 1909, p. 5.

between the interests of our Sunday Schools and the practices of Scout patrols'.⁵⁰ The practices of the Scout Patrols, according to Charles Snow, was in good hands.

Chief Scoutmaster Snow believed firmly in Baden-Powell's concept of the 'boy-man', a man 'of 25 to 50 years of age, who never grows older than 19'.⁵¹ In his report to the Queensland State Council in 1916 he said: 'In broad terms Scouting is simply an appeal to individual personal honour ... Mark the individual as opposed to the mass treatment, for this is a community of boy-men governed at the firing point by boy-men, both as officers and rankers'.⁵² Marking the individual was how the patrol system worked; the leader of each patrol is a boy. 'They are not mere machines for executing orders but individuals with brains, which, if they mean to get on in this world, they will have to use'.⁵³ Patrol Leaders Henley and Turton led their patrols from Toowong to Mt Coot-tha to stalk, attack and capture a flag belonging to 1st Taringa Troop.⁵⁴ A variation of this activity was the 'despatch run' where boys were required to show courage and initiative as well as demonstrating stalking, tracking, camouflage and message delivery skills. On another occasion, Corporal Colohan 'very cleverly evaded the hunters and got home uncaptured', but despatch runners C. Clark and K. Makin were both captured 'by very hostile scouts'.⁵⁵ On a much larger scale, 200 Scouts conducted a despatch run between Brisbane and Ipswich, delivering the message to the Mayor, Ald. M. Bowers, in a little over two hours.⁵⁶

It was Baden-Powell's belief that such training would benefit particularly the working-class youth, although the reality did not measure up to the ideal. Sally Marshall concludes that the decision to retain and emphasise the movement's religious links restricted 'scouting to remaining largely a middle class movement relying in part for leaders from the ranks of clerics and teachers'.⁵⁷ This is a narrow interpretation of the situation; there were wider issues, namely the middle class philosophy of loyalty and obedience embedded in a hegemonic locus of control designed and run by middle class

⁵⁰ 'Boy Scout Movement', *Cairns Post*, 16 July 1910, p. 5; 'Methodist Conference', *The Brisbane Courier*, 5 March 1910, p. 5

⁵¹ Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to the State Council, 30 June 1925, p. 9.

⁵² Report, Chief Scoutmaster Snow to the State Council, 18 December 1916, p. 1.

⁵³ 'Patriotism and Sport', *Queensland Times*, 24 February 1909, p. 3.

⁵⁴ 'Our Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 29 January 1910, p. 11.

⁵⁵ 'Our Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 5 February 1910, p. 11.

⁵⁶ 'Boy Scout Despatch Run', *Queensland Times*, 1 August 1910, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Marshall, p. 138.

men clinging to a Public School mentality. In her thesis on the lived experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia, Julia Messner cites Interviewee B: ‘Very even. Middle class. [There weren’t any participants who were] what they used to call blue-collar workers. Average middle class’.⁵⁸ That is to say, while the Scout Movement sought to recruit blue-collar workers, (working class lads), it did not achieve this largely because of the discipline, the cost and appearance of the uniform and the hours set aside for meetings. Conversely, the uniform and the games and activities attracted the middle classes.

The Scout Method of education and personal development as laid down by Baden-Powell relied heavily on the commitment and participation of suitable officers, who understood both the ideology and philosophy of the Movement, and the methodology of the patrol system as a way to build character.⁵⁹ In 1919, Inspector Herbert Denniss, of the Queensland Department of Public Instruction also recognised the importance of character development saying: ‘If we accept the principle that life is greater than work, the formation of character must be the highest function of school’.⁶⁰ Those sentiments closely paralleled those of Baden-Powell: ‘Until we get our education upon a more spiritual foundation instead of being content with mere academic scholarship, more character training than standard of knowledge, we shall only have the veneer’.⁶¹ There were others in Queensland similarly concerned with more than mere academic knowledge. *The Queenslander* carried an article arguing that first aid should become part of the school curriculum. ‘Now that the pupils of the metropolitan schools have become so engrossed with the boy scout movement it would be well for us to see what might be done in country schools which may not be fortunate’. The article gave an example of the First Aid Squad at Mt Perry school, where ‘the boys set to work with a will — some fashioning splints from bark, &c, others cutting saplings for a stretcher, and the remainder assisting with the bandaging’.⁶²

⁵⁸ Messner, p. 29.

⁵⁹ The patrol system relied upon the patrol leader, a boy member, taking responsibility for the boys in his patrol, including limited instruction and discipline.

⁶⁰ H. Denniss, Queensland Parliamentary Papers 1920, Forty-Fourth Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for 1919.

⁶¹ Baden-Powell, *Lessons from the ‘Varsity of Life*, p. 44.

⁶² ‘First Aid in Schools’, *Queensland Times*, 5 March 1910, p. 29.

Yet others in the community believed that Scouting could develop specialised skills. Corporal W. Eldridge of the 5th Troop Australian (Army) Field Engineers gave his services to the Nundah Scout Troop with a view to creating a special engineering corps of Boy Scouts.⁶³ While specialised Scout Troops did not eventuate, the skills taught to the boys in such areas of first aid, fire-fighting, tracking, signalling and despatch riding have served the community in times of need, and also assisted in the boys finding employment as adults in these fields.

Within Australia, Scouting in the states was developing independently of each other. Sally Marshall says that in Victoria, the Movement considered itself a 'pale version of the superior motherland', and that through lack of confidence it slavishly imitated British initiatives.⁶⁴ This is a bit harsh. It took about a year for Scouts in each state to create an organisational structure, which attended to the day-to-day running of the Troops, and matters such as census, local registration, and group formation. They formed patrols and met in homes or local church halls initially without leaders. Soon these impromptu patrols coalesced to form Scout Groups, and while they ran their own weekly programs, policy, badge work, and awards were the dictate of London, with any attempt to vary this considered disloyal. Loyalty was a benchmark upon which Baden-Powell insisted.⁶⁵

In New South Wales, J. Kilgour of the Fort Street Training College in Sydney said about the establishment of Boy Scouts: 'It is a splendid idea and I have become quite enthusiastic about it'.⁶⁶ The following week *The Sunday Times* reported the first Patrol of six boys formed at Mossman, New South Wales, and shortly after the Kangaroo Patrol wrote to the Editor, 'Sir, I wish to inform you that we formed a patrol two months ago'.⁶⁷ After that, matters moved quickly. Thomas Roydhouse, Editor of the *Sunday Times* in Sydney writing to other papers around the country outlining the aims and objectives of the Boy Scout movement, said he was in touch with the English authorities, and would

63 'Our Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 5 February 1910, p. 11.

64 Marshall, p. 29.

65 Baden-Powell, 'Decentralisation', *Outlook*, November 1917. Many of Baden-Powell's writings have references to 'loyalty' in a variety of contexts. They range from a simple 'good deed' to one's mate, to laying down one's life for comrade and Empire.

66 'Whole-hearted Support for T-Street leads the Way', *Sunday Times*, 9 August 1908, p. 11.

67 'Well Done Mossman. First Australian Patrol at Work', *Sunday Times*, 16 August 1908, p. 9S.

‘be pleased to answer any enquiries ... and put schoolmasters and others in touch with local patrols’.⁶⁸

The Chief Scout Master in New South Wales, Robert Packer, declared in *The Lone Hand* of August 1909: ‘The boy scout has come upon us, a soldier in the making, a willing student in the art of war, a priceless asset, if retained withal a boy following in a distinctly boyish way the road that will make him a useful man’.⁶⁹ The article further explained that a boy should ‘be a cadet first for the simple reason ... that he gets a rifle and learns how to use it’.⁷⁰ This is in stark contrast to Thomas Roydhouse’s article of the previous October, and is diametrically opposite to Baden-Powell’s avowed purpose and philosophy of Scouting. Baden-Powell said: ‘If the price of one Dreadnought was made available to us for developing this international friendliness and comradeship between the rising generations, I believe we in the Scouts would do more towards preventing war than all the Dreadnoughts put together’.⁷¹

In South Australia, the introduction of the Boy Scouts trod a rocky path. At that time there was an organisation called ‘Our Boys Institute’; a branch of the YMCA, but involved also with the Boys’ Brigade, Church Lads Brigade, and several small sports groups. When *Scouting for Boys* arrived, the Our Boys Institute set up a scouting and natural history patrol as reported at their Annual General Meeting on Thursday 29 July 1909.⁷² However, Scout Troops sprang up spontaneously and independent of Our Boys Institute and of each other, with the Troop at St Peters being one of the first. The Acting State Scoutmaster, J. Ivett (later State Scout Commissioner), outlined the aims and objectives of the movement in *The Advertiser* on 16 August 1909. Ivett also explained why the Boy Scout Movement was a stand-alone organisation. The General Secretary of the OBI, Kirkham Evans took exception to several aspects of Scoutmaster Ivett’s article, accusing him of self-aggrandisement and misrepresenting Baden-Powell.

68 Thomas Roydhouse, ‘The Boy Scouts’, *The Advertiser*, 10 October 1908, p. 15.

69 Robert Packer, *Lone Hand*, August 1909, p. 381. It is somewhat ironical that Packer, a newspaper owner, who became Chief Scoutmaster in NSW, could espouse views so opposite to Baden-Powell’s, and not be censured, while Roydhouse, the Editor, with views in accord with Baden-Powell’s, being the one whose resignation was demanded, because he was a newspaper editor. (See pp. 78-79).

70 Packer, p. 389.

71 Baden-Powell, ‘International Brotherhood’, *Outlook*, December 1911. A Dreadnaught was a capital class battleship in the early twentieth century that cost over one million pounds.

72 Kirkham Evans, *The Advertiser*, 30 July 1909, p. 8.

Evans's underlying fear was that the Boy Scouts would eclipse the Our Boys Institute, which it did.⁷³

In this initial stage of creating the Movement in Queensland, the Council of Control and its Executive were quite prepared to forge their own path. A close analysis of the minutes and reports of the time reveal some interesting trends; the first is that while Imperial Headquarters might have dictated policy and procedures, Snow and his Central Executive Committee were not averse to ignoring such matters when it suited them.⁷⁴ The second is that some individual Groups were more aware of the changing Council dynamics than others were, and were not averse to confronting the Council of Control on such issues.⁷⁵ A third trend is that, in keeping with Baden-Powell's style of maintaining strict control of the organisation, the Queensland Central Executive Committee ensured that regardless of the democratic appearance of the Council of Control, the real decision making resided with the Executive, a body appointed by the Council. This trend continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s, replicating Baden-Powell's objectives of restrictive decision-making.⁷⁶

Scouting in Queensland began in a tentative and unorganised manner. The initial four patrols operated independent of and unknown to each other, but as the concept became more widely known, patrols began to appear throughout the state. It was only a matter of months before the leaders communicated with each other, then to form an organisation, the Council of Control, to regulate the Movement's expansion. There were 'teething' troubles in the first few years, but the Council of Control soon imposed its will via a constitution that controlled the decision-making processes from the outset. At Troop level, boys participated in not only the Scouting games and activities, but they

73 Evans, *The Advertiser*, 17 August 1909, p. 10. Evans was subsequently expelled from the Movement, and fled to Fiji following allegations of inappropriate behaviour with his charges. (Block & Proctor, p. 83-84).

74 When Baden-Powell questioned the seeming military style operations in Queensland, he was told that they were nonetheless correct and in keeping with the spirit of the Movement. (Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 11 April 1919, p. 1).

75 Sandgate Group was critical of the Council's appointment and decision-making processes. (Minutes, Council of Control, 8 March 1910, p. 1; Council of Control, 16 August 1910, p. 1; Council of Control, 25 October 1910, p. 1). The Morningside group made similar representations in 1928. (Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 25 October 1929, p. 1).

76 After the Counegeau debacle of May 1910, the Council increased the elected representation by three members (Minutes, Council of Control, 14 June 1910, p. 2). In 1928, the constitution altered so that Council members elected by Scoutmasters numbered no more than 20% of the Executive. (Minutes, State Council, 28 May 1928, pp. 1-2). Thus, decision-making was controlled by those *appointed* by the Council, rather than those *elected* by the rank and file. (See Chapter 3, Part 2).

also gave voluntary service to their local community, and if the public response was a measure, then these initial steps must be considered a success. However, Baden-Powell's underlying objective for the Boy Scouts was the development of character.

PART 2: A QUESTION OF CHARACTER

In his 1924 report to the Queensland State Council, the Acting Chief Commissioner, Charles Snow said, 'From a national standpoint it is incumbent upon us to use every endeavour to ensure the mass of our citizens being men of character and balance'. He went on to define character in the following terms 'development, resourcefulness, self-reliance, obedience, pluck, and persistency'.⁷⁷

At every stage of the development of Scouting, from its conceptualisation through to its established acceptance in most countries, character — in all its contexts, was central to its philosophy, aims, and objectives. Baden-Powell's experiences at Charterhouse contributed to the philosophy and ideology he carried through to his vision for Scouting. These were character-building traits of loyalty, being part of a team, 'playing the game', and accepting one's place (in school and beyond). He was fully aware that his scholastic achievements at Charterhouse were very ordinary as evidenced by his comment: '... you may have heard that the Public School education is no good ... it is good, but not so much for what is taught in the class-room, but what is learnt on the playing field and out of school'.⁷⁸ Late Victorian and Edwardian values defined Baden-Powell's ideal masculine and characterful boy, and from a national standpoint the answer to the nation's perceived problems lay in the Public School ethos where 'playing the game' became a euphemism for serving the Empire. However, exactly what constitutes character has taxed the minds of scholars from the time of Aristotle and Plato, who stated that 'everyone is endued with the power of producing moral changes in his own moral character'; that is, the individual is in control of his or her own character development. Plato also considered that bad or ill-directed education was a 'great cause of human corruption'.⁷⁹ Hutcheson, addressing how humans become moral, says that some people feel morality is associated with forms of spirituality, while others consider

⁷⁷ Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 1 September 1924, p. 3. Charles Snow's title changed from Chief Scoutmaster to Chief Commissioner sometime between 11 September 1919 and 8 June 1920. These are the dates of surviving records where the change occurs.

⁷⁸ Robert Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success*, Herbert Jenkins, London, 1922, p. 24.

⁷⁹ Plato, *Plato's Republic*, Book 1, trans. Henry Davis, Universal Classics, New York, 1933, pp. 16-18.

genetics the determinant. He continues that both premises, as a contradiction to Plato, deny the ability of humans to change ‘ourselves or others for better or worse’.⁸⁰

Thomas Wright and Tyler Lauer cite Theodore Roosevelt: ‘The foundation stone of national life is, and ever must be, the high individual character of the average citizen’.⁸¹ Baden-Powell had a less intellectual approach to the issue. He saw character in concrete terms rather than the abstract. His belief was that woodcraft and games underpinned by a subliminal acceptance of discipline, loyalty, and obedience would imbue the boy with character. Character, he said, would be demonstrated by doing a good turn, and a boy ‘always put[ting] his duty to his country before all personal feelings and desires’.⁸² However, in a revisionist stance, Bob Hodge argues that an Australian ‘national character’ has been developing since the European invasion and that it resides in the core knowledge and stereotype commodities that exclude outsiders.⁸³ This is opposite to Baden-Powell’s maxim that a Scout is a friend to all.

Michael Davis argues that character is ‘the relatively settled general disposition of a person to do what is morally good’ and is (supposed to be) a pervasive feature of a person. He adds that character can be analysed into a set of traits or dispositions of virtue including honesty, loyalty, perseverance, and so on, but makes the important distinction that character *traits* are rather not the ‘building blocks of good character ... [as] expressions of it’.⁸⁴ Davis is saying that an act of honesty does not build character *per se*, but is a demonstration of it; that the act evidences a pre-existing moral code or belief. Baden-Powell gave voice to this concept through the Scout Law and Promise. However, Andrew Brookes denies the concept of character building: ‘but the fact is that the notion of character building is one area where research evidence outside the outdoor education field allows a quite categorical statement: character building is a myth’.⁸⁵ Brookes concludes further that ‘character building *did not need to be factually true* for the youth

80 Pat Hutcheon, *Building Character and Culture*, Greenwood Press, London, 1999, p. 92.

81 Thomas Wright & Tyler Lauer, ‘What is character and why it really does matter’, *Organizational dynamics*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2013, p. 25.

82 Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, p. 102.

83 Bob Hodge, B, ‘National character and the discursive process: A study of transformations in popular metatexts’, *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1989, pp. 427-429.

84 Michael Davis, ‘What’s Wrong with Character Education?’ *American Journal of Education*, vol. 110, no. 1, 2003, p. 33-35.

85 Andrew Brookes, ‘Character building. Why it doesn’t happen, why it can’t be made to happen, and why the myth of character building is hurting the field of outdoor education’, in proceedings of the 13th National Outdoor Education Conference, Adelaide, April 2003, p. 19.

movements to succeed'. In his thesis on the Outdoor Adventure Education movement, contrasting character building in the Outward Bound Movement with other youth organisations (in Australia), he asserts that in Scouting the 'activities and images appealed to the boys and the symbols and rhetoric appealed to adults; youths joined, adults followed'.⁸⁶ However, in Brookes' own field of outdoor education Mark Freeman argues convincingly that the Outward Bound Movement takes character education very seriously. He states: 'the widespread interest in character education invites a consideration of its historical context, and most recent accounts of its re-emergence as a policy objective have discussed its long-term evolution, often focusing on the growth of muscular Christianity in English Public Schools, as well as the emergence of uniformed youth movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries'.⁸⁷

In 1906, *The Brisbane Courier* pre-empted such thoughts, pointing to the relationship between the character of Queensland children and the State's future wealth. The newspaper argued that the state needed to develop policies of efficiency for children and that this was 'worth the most earnest consideration by the framers of our laws'.⁸⁸ A few years later, the Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, voiced a similar opinion, advocating an all-inclusive policy that 'developed a national character'.⁸⁹ The education sector was similarly concerned about the quality of training, with the Governor of Queensland, Sir Matthew Nathan stating at the 33rd Annual Teachers Conference in 1921 that, 'It was the teachers who would give them a training in leisure, at the same time a training for work, both dominated by the training of character'.⁹⁰ Reginald Roe, the Inspector-General of Queensland's Schools, was of the same mind. When commenting on the need for educational reforms, he advocated the institution of a system of continuation schools to carry on the training and the character building begun in the elementary schools.⁹¹ J. S. Purdy,⁹² a Queensland Health Officer, considered that the time 'was not inopportune

86 Andrew Brookes, 'Situationist outdoor education in the country of lost children', PhD thesis, Deakin University, Victoria, 2006, p. 126.

87 Mark Freeman, 'From 'character-training' to 'personal growth': the early history of Outward Bound 1941-1965', *History of Education: Journal of History of Education Society*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2010, p. 21-22.

88 'The Cadet System', *The Brisbane Courier*, 13 February 1906, p. 4.

89 'Mr Deakin's Policy Speech', *The Brisbane Courier*, 27 January 1910, p. 4.

90 'Teachers Conference', *Queensland Times*, 11 January 1921, p. 5.

91 'Education Ideals', *The Brisbane Courier*, 3 November 1916, p. 5.

92 John Smith Purdy grew up in England, studied medicine, and in January 1901 joined the Boer War as Surgeon-Captain in the 6th and 10th New Zealand Rifles. He enlisted in the Australian Imperial Forces in 1914 serving in the Australian Medical Corps in Egypt and Europe, attaining the rank of Lt-Colonel. Purdy was an ardent supporter of the Boy Scout Movement and received a Silver Wolf

to get the six Directors of Education ... to consider the introduction into all schools of training on boy-scout and girl-guide lines'. Purdy believed that this would result in resourcefulness, character, self-control, 'and the spirit of playing the game'. 'The mere inculcation', he said, 'of the idea that the Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout ... would be in my opinion, a fitting groundwork on which to build the future nationhood of Australia'.⁹³ Chief Commissioner Snow was adamant that the Scout Method of education was the answer: 'Scouting is well balanced for it provides for the education of the body, mind, and spirit. Educationists, the Churches, the factories, and individuals are turning more and more towards this wonderful Scouting Movement and wanting to join in'.⁹⁴ The Education Department continued to be interested in Scout training. In 1937:

An officer of the Education Department attend[ing] by courtesy of the Director of Education ... was much impressed with the value of the Scout system of education and the methods devised for the training of its officers. 'I intend to follow up this avenue as so many Scouters who are school masters find Scouting helpful to them in their school work and I feel that we should bring our work more prominently before the proper authorities'.⁹⁵

On the other hand, the *Worker* decried the Movement in strident terms as being regarded, 'for many sufficient reasons ... as a preparatory school for Fascism, and as a cunning and far-sighted anticipation by the militarists...of pollution of the schoolboy mind with militarist teaching'.⁹⁶

American Scouting mirrored Queensland's character development argument. Robert Howard et al cite the Boy Scouts of America as the main non-school venue for character education, nominating the traditional approach of 'specifying a list of virtues and reinforce[ing] them through formal instruction [and] visuals (e.g., posters, positive peer

Award from Baden-Powell. C. J. Cummins, Purdy, John Smith (1872-1936), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, vol. 11, (MUP), 1988

93 'Boy Scout Movement', *The Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1922, p. 8.

94 Minutes, State Council, 27 August 1929, p. 3.

95 Minutes, State Executive, 24 May 1937, pp. 3-4.

96 'Smoke Ho', *Worker*, 2 October 1924, p. 13.

culture and ceremonies)'.⁹⁷ Infusing character into the boy was the task of the Scoutmasters, and Baden-Powell was mindful of their task. In his booklet, *Aids to Scoutmastership: a Guidebook for Scoutmasters on the Theory of Scout Training*, he points out that under competent leadership boys would be encouraged to engage in healthy activities in the woodcraft and naturist elements of scouting, which in turn would raise the physical and moral qualities of the boys.⁹⁸ When commenting on the anniversary of the Girl Guide Movement in 1923, 'Verity', in *The Brisbane Courier*, said that character was a by-product of duty performed and that for the Girl Guides, the lines of training ran in the direction of character and intelligence.⁹⁹ The *Nambour Chronicle* reported that almost every civilised country had Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and that the four main advances of its training were 'towards character, health, handicraft, and service to others'.¹⁰⁰ *Scouting for Boys* contained the information needed to present this training.

Percy Everett explains that in discussion with Baden-Powell, tests for scoutmasters included knowledge of *Scouting for Boys*, especially the Scout Laws, and a 'full appreciation of the moral aim underlying the practical instruction all through the scheme of "Scouting"'.¹⁰¹ Baden-Powell articulated his thoughts on character development through the pages of *Scouting for Boys*, which became the Movement's bible for more than fifty years. It achieved fame, Elleke Boehmer says, as 'one of the best-selling Anglophone works of the 20th cent[ury]'.¹⁰² She argues that the book exists on several levels; for the boy who could 'cherry-pick' the parts that interested him, since there was very little full-length continuity. At adult leader level, the 'Hints to Instructors' outlined Baden-Powell's underlying ideology concerning character development and the activities that would lead to that end. On another level the book is a metaphor for a remedy for all the Imperial ills; a salvation for the Empire; that Scouting sought to enlist everyone, as Imperial service was a British birthright. On yet another level the text is the mythologising of the colonial experience. The *really* adventurous experiences that awaited the Scout, lay in the far flung colonies and dominions, where Baden-Powell's

97 Robert Howard, Marvin Berkowitz & Esther Schaffer, 'Politics of Character Education', *Educational Policy*, vol. 18, 2004, p. 191.

98 Baden-Powell, *Aids to Scoutmastership*, p. 17.

99 'Between Ourselves', *The Brisbane Courier*, 31 May 1923, p. 12.

100 'The Scout Brotherhood and Girl Guides', *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*, 18 January 1924, p. 9.

101 Everett, p. 35.

102 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 2004, p. xi, footnote 1.

mythologising of the colonial experience bore very little semblance to reality. Robert MacDonald believes that *Scouting for Boys* has two voices; the first a rhetorical voice carrying the social injunctions, the ‘promise and law and good citizenship, laying down explicit social codes in an imperative voice’. The other voice is iconic; it works through the illustrations scattered throughout the book, with their meaning conveyed by implication¹⁰³; for example, the Scout lying behind a rock spying on a group of people on a beach recently landed from a boat (the cover of the first issue)¹⁰⁴. Other examples include Lord Cecil and the Boy Scout at Mafeking (p. 10), Pioneering Scouts in Ashanti (p. 145), and smoking (p. 223)¹⁰⁵.

It is this rhetorical imperative voice of the Boy Scout Promise and Law, underpinning the primary aims and objectives of the Movement, which is the catalyst for character development. It is here that all the influences of Baden-Powell’s upbringing, education, and military experiences found voice. However, it is instructive to view the promise and law through different lenses to understand their multi-dimensional ideological and pedagogical contexts. They appear as a reflection of the conservative ideology of Edwardian Imperialism; some scholars see a rubric carrying a hidden agenda of social control to bring moral rectitude to boys, and on yet a different level convey a different voice through the lens of overt or covert militarist objectives. Unlike most oaths taken prior to admission to youth organisations, the Scout Promise has not one, but two caveats; honour and promise: ‘On my honour I promise that I will do my best to do my duty to God and the King; to help other people at all times, and to obey the Scout Law’. This comes from the Oath of Investiture for Knights dating from the year 506 CE,¹⁰⁶ that a person’s honour is everything and must be trusted implicitly. The Scout Promise is linked directly to the first Scout Law, which states that a Scout’s Honour is to be trusted; if a Scout says ‘on my honour it is so, that means it *is* so’.¹⁰⁷ Baden-Powell’s sense of honour flows from his Public School education which emphasised character rather than intellect, belief in one’s class rather than individual thought, loyalty to the King and an unswerving belief in the supremacy of the Empire.¹⁰⁸ It was at Charterhouse

103 Robert MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire. The frontier and the boy scout movement 1890 – 1918*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1993, p. 131.

104 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, cover, Part 1.

105 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 223.

106 Baden-Powell, *Young Knights*, p. 23.

107 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 49.

108 Edward Mack, ‘The English Public School: A Symbol and a Portent’, *The Educational Forum*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1942, pp. 192-205.

that Baden-Powell learned honour was the corner stone of character, as he later advised Girl Guides: 'make [yourselves] efficient in honour, discipline and straight dealing, not for your own good but the benefit of others and the honour and welfare of the nation'.¹⁰⁹ It is within the Scout Laws however, where the core values of Baden-Powell's objectives for Scouting are located.

The nine Scout Laws are a distillation of Baden-Powell's beliefs and value systems. As listed in the 1908 original parts of *Scouting for Boys*, these are:

1. A Scout's Honour is to be trusted.
2. A Scout is loyal to his King, and to his officers, and to his country, and to his employers.
3. A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.
4. A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter what social class the other belongs.
5. A Scout is courteous.
6. A Scout is a friend to animals.
7. A Scout obeys orders of his patrol leader, or scoutmaster without question.
8. A Scout smiles and whistles under all circumstances.
9. A Scout is thrifty.

The tenth Scout Law, added in 1911, as listed in the 1924 edition, read;

10. A Scout is clean in thought, word, and deed.¹¹⁰

Baden-Powell's belief in the importance of the British Empire and his experiences from his youth and his military life contributed directly to the formation of the Scout Laws. Law 1, Honour and Trust; Law 2, Loyalty; Law 3, Usefulness; Law 7, Obedience, are all grounded in Baden-Powell's vision of Edwardian ideology and greatness of the empire, citing Shackleton, Nelson and Balaclava: 'Remember my lads, there is no retreat from here. You must die where you stand'.¹¹¹ Law 4, Friendship; Law 5, Courteousness; Law 6, Animal welfare; Law 8,¹¹² Cheerfulness, and Law 9, Thrift, demonstrate a more

109 Robert Baden-Powell, *Girl Guiding: A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers and Guiders*, London, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1938, p. 117.

110 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1924, p. 64.

111 Baden-Powell, *Young Knights*, p. 7.

112 Baden-Powell advised not to, 'kill any animal unnecessarily, even if it is a fly', (*Scouting For Boys*, 1908, p. 50).

practical side to Scouting. They are mostly common-sense stipulations: Friendship to Animals stems directly from Baden-Powell's life-long affinity with horses (notwithstanding his love of pig sticking). However, an amusing anecdote concerning the 6th Law displays the seriousness that many boys attached to the Laws. A group of Scouts were at the Toowong Range and during their activities, disturbed a frog. 'There was a boyish shout and half a dozen sticks were pointed at the little croaker, whose life seemed for a moment in danger. However, one little chap shouted: "Law 6: A Scout is a friend to animals," and down went the sticks'.¹¹³ It is but a short step to extrapolate that action to the concern towards the environment exhibited by the Movement today.

Thrift is a trait Baden-Powell learned as a child and practised as a soldier in constant need of money. A Second Class Scout was required to have at least six pence in a savings account.¹¹⁴ Following World War I, Australia instituted a 'Peace Loan', inviting Australians to invest in government bonds to help finance the repatriation of those too ill or injured to take their place in society. Many of the fund raising activities occurred under the auspices of The Temple of Thrift, officially opened by the Governor of Queensland, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams, on Monday 2 September 1919.¹¹⁵ Boy Scout Troops throughout the State exercised their own personal thrift by sacrificing their pocket money, in order that their parents could invest in the bonds, but Troops were also actively involved in fund raising for their community. The Cairns Troop, who won the Australia-wide competition for fund-raising for the Seventh War Loan, was 'determined not to lose any opportunity to help on the Peace Loan campaign ... in the capacity of cyclists, orderlies and runners'.¹¹⁶ For the launch of the 'Boy Scouts Day of Appeal', Wilston's Patrol No. 1 took place of honour directly in front of the Temple of Thrift, facing the assemblage.¹¹⁷

The fourth Law, Friendship, in Baden-Powell's mind seems to have applied only to those of the Anglo-Saxon race. His racial attitudes reflect those of his contemporaries; namely an absolute belief in the Empire's supremacist right to bring Imperial civilisation to inferior races. While serving in India he said, 'I like my native servants, but as a rule

113 'Our Scouts: Ideals, and their Application', *Queensland Times*, 19 October 1909, p. 2.

114 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 37. (About \$3.20 at 2013 values. Personal communication, Reserve Bank of Australia, 5 August 2014).

115 'Australia Week', *The Brisbane Courier*, 18 August 1919, p. 8.

116 'Boy Scouts and Peace Loans', *Cairns Post*, 30 August 1919, p. 4.

117 Minutes, Special meeting of the Central Executive Committee, 24 February 1919, p. 1.

the niggers seem to me a cringing lot'.¹¹⁸ While serving in Africa he was just as condemnatory. 'The stupid inertness of the puzzled negro is duller than that of an ox; a dog would grasp your meaning in half the one-time'.¹¹⁹ His comments on the Australian Aborigine are even more scathing (see page 142). In contrast, the fourth Scout Law (1908) states: 'A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter what Social Class the other belongs'.¹²⁰ To reflect the internationality of Scouting, the 4th Law was altered to read: 'A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter what country, class, or creed the other may belong'.¹²¹ The following anecdote explains the type of international understanding the Movement attempted to inculcate into its members. A Chaldean Christian Boy Scout rescued a Turkish Moslem lad from drowning in a dangerous part of the Tigris River. The elders of the village queried, 'why should a Chaldean risk his life to save a Turk?' When the 4th Scout Law was explained to them, they are reported to have said: 'This is a brotherhood indeed'.¹²²

The Third Law; being useful, saw the Manly Boy Scouts in 1910 enlisted in the search for Miss Bessie Gibson, who went missing near a beach, but 'could still be in the district'.¹²³ Her body eventually washed up on Freshwater Beach, and an inquest returned an open verdict.¹²⁴ This Law also covers 'doing a good turn'. Many good turns occur without recognition, or in the following case, unknown to the benefactor, but not necessarily the lad's Troop. On Tuesday 15 November 1910, a pony trap containing two men was proceeding along Queen St when the pony slipped, throwing the driver onto the road. Before the driver could recover, the pony 'bolted off down the street with one man, who was apparently dazed, still sitting in the trap, and the reins dragging along the road'. The driver made a dash for the reins, but slipped and was himself dragged along, 'but just at the crucial point a Baden-Powell Scout [came] rushing onto the road [and] succeeded in bringing the pony to a standstill'.¹²⁵

118 Robert Baden-Powell, *Indian Memories*, H. Jenkins, London, 1915, p. 17.

119 Baden-Powell, *Downfall of Prempeh*, p. 20.

120 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 49. Baden-Powell has come in for trenchant criticism from numerous historians for overt racism. See also pp. 316-318.

121 The exact date of this change in Australia is unknown, but *The Brisbane Courier* quoted this version from an overseas source in an article 11 October 1921, p. 8.

122 'Boy Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 11 October 1921, p. 8.

123 'Sydney', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 7 November 1910, p. 2.

124 'Miss Gibson's Body Found', *Evening News*, 21 November 1910, p. 6.

125 'A Scout's Good Turn', *The Brisbane Courier*, 17 November 1910, p. 4.

The second Scout Law states: ‘A Scout is loyal to the King, and to his country, and to his employers’.¹²⁶ It is significant that ‘Parents’ are not mentioned in the original wording; just as they are not mentioned in the seventh. The middle and upper classes considered that working class youth did not receive discipline at home, that their parents themselves lacked discipline and therefore character. A possible reason for this, as the *Brisbane Courier* suggested, may be that parents, ‘partly through idleness, partly through cowardice and the desire to lead an easy life’, were unable to provide any form of character education in their children’s upbringing.¹²⁷ The result was, according to Jamison, a ‘consumerist boy-labourer lacking respect for constituted authority, and able to avail himself of the “temptations” on offer in the commercialized leisure sector’.¹²⁸

Being useful to others can be read into the Second Law, Loyalty. Such loyalty sometimes requires courage or in extreme cases may result in sacrificing one’s life. Major S. B. Robinson, Quartermaster Connors, Corporal Bostock, and Standard-Bearer Fittock, all killed at Anzac Cove, as were many other Scouts throughout the Empire, are excellent examples of local lads making the ultimate sacrifice.¹²⁹ The best known perhaps, is British ex-Scout Jack Cornwall posthumously awarded a Victoria Cross at just sixteen years of age for his bravery at the Battle of Jutland on board the *HMS Chester*. The Scout Association (UK) instigated the Cornwall Award, ‘[A] special award which is reserved exclusively for Scouts under the age of 20 and is given in respect to their courage and endurance under extreme conditions’.¹³⁰

This second Law created considerable difficulties within the Newmarket Scout Troop in Brisbane during the Great Strike of 1912. This strike had its origins in the decision by the Brisbane branch of the Australian Tramway Union Employees Association to take action after management refused the workers’ right to union representation and membership. Thousands of other unionists throughout the State struck in sympathy with the Tramway workers. The *Maryborough Chronicle*, *Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* reported a meeting of representatives of forty-three unions deciding ‘to cease work at 6

126 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 49.

127 ‘The Boy Scout Movement: What it may do for the Empire’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 15 January 1910, p. 13.

128 Jamison, ‘Making ‘honest, truthful and industrious men’: newsboys, rational recreation and the construction of the citizen’ in late Victorian and Edwardian Brisbane’, *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 33, no. 1, 1999, p. 64.

129 ‘Scouts’ Honour Board’, *Queensland Times*, 14 August 1916, p. 5.

130 The Scouting Pages – The Cornwall Award. <<http://thescoutingpages.org.uk/>>

pm on Tuesday'.¹³¹ When the Federal Labour government refused the Denham Liberal government's request for military intervention, Denham quickly enrolled 3,000 civilians as temporary policemen.¹³² The strike occurred, but not all workers were happy. In an article, 'Last Night's News', the *Warwick Examiner and Times* said that 'Strikers [are] returning to work; Wharf labourers [are] disgusted [and] consider they were misled'.¹³³ Staff Scoutmaster A. E. Wetzig of the Newmarket Scout Troop was a Tramway Conductor. He initially joined the union and the strike, but subsequently resigned (from the Union) out of loyalty to his employer. He wrote to the Central Executive Committee explaining that the Troop would have to be re-organised because a number of boys had left. The Central Executive Committee replied to Wetzig 'thanking him for work on behalf of the league and also expressing sympathy with him on account of the victimisation by the boys and residents of the district for his loyalty to his employers during the strike'.¹³⁴ When called as a witness into the hearing concerning the strike, Wetzig again displayed his belief in the second Scout Law saying that 'he was proud to be in the employ of the Brisbane Tramways Company'.¹³⁵

Of all the Scout Laws though, it is the tenth that has generated disproportionate debate and where the rubric of the moral agenda is most obvious. This Law has its origins in Baden-Powell's obsessive dread of masturbation, which he called 'beastliness' and appears in many of his works under the heading of 'continence'.¹³⁶ Baden-Powell's sexuality and the seeming asexual nature of the Movement has been the source of considerable argument in recent times. He went to great lengths to assert that Scouting was about clean-living masculinity, living a manly life, 'undergirded at all times by discipline and obedience'.¹³⁷ The internalised morality found in Scouting projected a habitus that has reflections of the chivalric code of abstinence and masculinity that he conceptualises for Scouting.¹³⁸ Baden-Powell was firmly convinced that masturbation led to insanity:

131 'The Tramway Strike', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 30 January 1912, p. 4.

132 Fitzgerald et al, p. 82.

133 'Last Night's News', *Warwick Examiner and Times*, 7 February 1912, p. 5.

134 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 4 March 1912, p. 1.

135 'Tramways Case: Further Evidence', *The Brisbane Courier*, 25 September 1912, p. 11.

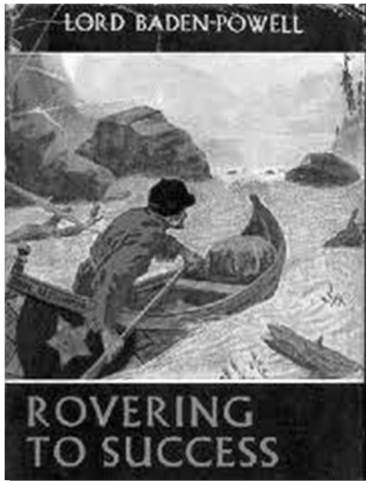
136 See *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 359; *Rovering to Success*, p. 111; *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, p. 41; *The Scouter*, January 1919.

137 Charles Meinhardt, 'Good Christian Boys: Scouting for Masculinity', in D. Snelgrove, (ed), *Journal of Philosophy and History of Education*, vol. 56, 2006, p. 117.

138 Sam Pryke, 'The control of sexuality in the early British Boy Scouts movement, Sex Education: Sexuality', *Society and Learning*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2005, p. 24. Michael Rosenthal and Tim Jeal have

You can warn him that ‘indulgence’ or ‘self-abuse’ is a temptation more likely to assail him than the other vices ... and is more harmful than any of them since it brings with it weakness of heart and head, and, if persisted in, idiocy and lunacy.¹³⁹

By 1922, Baden-Powell had modified his approach considerably. *Rovering to Success*, a book for eighteen to twenty-five year olds contains chapters on ‘Horses, Wine,



Women, Cuckoos and Humbugs, and Irreligion’, as ‘rocks’ young men are likely to bump against in the ‘voyage through life’. The dust jacket illustration of a frontiersman navigating a canoe called ‘Good Resolution’ through a snag-strewn river towards a peaceful lake at sunset is indicative of the metaphorical approach he took with much of his arguments — adventurous, challenging but, even for 1922, dated.

Figure 3: Cover of *Rovering to Success*

In the chapter on *Women*, he says: ‘it was often taught that self-abuse [would] lead to insanity, causing permanent and severe damage to the system. Now this is a grossly exaggerated picture to say the least of it’. He then abjures young men to keep their ‘racial organ’ clean, as it is their duty to ‘the nation, [and] to the race to beget healthy children’.¹⁴⁰

written a more critical account of Baden-Powell and sexuality in *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*, and *The Boy Man: The Life of Lord Baden-Powell*.

139 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 359. According to Elleke Boehmer, Baden-Powell consulted both his mother and his publisher (Pearson) concerning the inclusion of a much ‘stronger’ version of this section, worded in part, ‘and the result of self-abuse is always – mind you, always – that the boy...becomes an idiot’. (*Scouting for Boys*, ed Boehmer, 2004, p. 351). They persuaded him to ‘modify’ the text, though versions of the original appeared for the next fifteen years.

140 Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success*, pp. 105-111. It is interesting to note that in the 1924 edition of *Scouting for Boys* (p. 210), the same outdated advice persists: ‘he becomes feeble in body and mind, and excessive cases have led to the lunatic asylum’. By the 1920s, Baden-Powell had total control of the Movement and its publications. Given his own dysfunctional sexuality (he slept on an outdoor veranda year round; he did not sleep in the same bed as his wife), it is not surprising that such advice to younger members persisted. The 1956 Boys’ Edition of *Scouting for Boys* (Boys’ Edition, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, London, 1956, p. 135) simply says: ‘This is dangerous, for, should it become a habit, it may lead to worse habits’. *Scouting for Boys* is no longer a required text in the Scout Association (Australia) reading list.

The Tenth Law was, of course, concerned with health generally and proposed a regime of balanced physical and dietary measures to maintain a healthy body and a healthy mind. When mosquitoes threatened to become a problem in the summer of 1912, Carl Zoegler recommended that the Health Department enlist the aid of the Boy Scouts suggesting, 'their extermination was within the power of every Boy Scout'.¹⁴¹ The Council of Control obviously agreed, and Headquarters Bulletin No. 181 reported that 'The Boy Scout Movement will act in conjunction with the Health Department in a crusade against mosquitoes'.¹⁴² However, it is important to consider the application of the Scout Laws at Troop level.

While there was a strong streak of the imperial imperative in Baden-Powell's writings, the moral rubric of the promise and law at boy level was not a code for perfection, it was a code of behaviour aimed at strengthening character traits. At Troop level, the promise and law were a set of rules that needed knowing, not necessarily by heart but certainly by intent. It was accepted that boys would understand at their level of cognition what was required of them both within their Troop and away from it, and 'do their best' to attain such goals, thus internalising the moral values of the code. In some instances, affirming the Scout Law and Promise was a public affair. In Gordonvale near Cairns, two new patrols took their Law and Promise at a public gathering. G. Clem, Headmaster of the Gordonvale School, welcoming the Troop into the Gordonvale community, said he was pleased that Scouts had been established at Gordonvale and 'that by carrying out the Scouts' laws the boys would grow up to be useful citizens and a credit to their country'.¹⁴³ The pedagogy to help boys achieve this was based on woodcraft, games, and peer teaching within the patrol, enabling the boy to learn for himself: 'he is encouraged to educate himself instead of being instructed'.¹⁴⁴ The uniqueness of the outdoor program of woodcraft and games resonated with the youth of the day, and the rapid growth of the Movement reflected this. In a moment of candour some time later Baden-Powell reflected on his underlying intention, stating 'had we called it what it was, viz, a 'Society for the Propagation of Moral attributes', the boy would not have exactly rushed for it'.¹⁴⁵

141 'Mosquitoes and Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 September 1912, p. 6

142 'The Boy Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 5 October 1912, p. 16.

143 'Gordonvale Notes', *The Northern Herald*, 14 December 1917, p. 65.

144 Baden-Powell, *Aids to Scoutmastership*, p. 20.

145 Baden-Powell, *Lessons from the 'Varsity of Life'*, p. 141-142.

Michael Rosenthal argues that the Scout Laws primarily sought to obtain and maintain obedience, citing the first through to the fifth, plus the seventh and the eighth as requiring absolute loyalty and a willingness to carry out orders given to him. He adds: ‘not only for Baden-Powell is the dull lad who can obey orders ... better than a sharp one who cannot’, but it is only the former who could qualify to be a Scout.¹⁴⁶ Such a pejorative statement rings hollow when one considers the list of Scouts who were and are leaders in their field. Although Rosenthal does acknowledge that Scouts promised merely to do one’s *best*; he quickly returns to his argument that the Scout Law and Promise was a means of social control. However, there is no absolute in doing one’s best; so long as a Scout has given of his best then he *has* honoured that promise to do his duty.

Within many communities, the Boy Scout Movement became a valued asset, as reported by the *Morning Bulletin* in Rockhampton, and the *Brisbane Courier*. In Mt Morgan, the Hospital accepted the Scout Troop’s offer to form a fire brigade within the hospital and ‘the [Hospital] Finance Committee was instructed to make the arrangements’.¹⁴⁷ Gympie Scouts bridge making skills came in handy for the Gympie Show, when they erected a trestle bridge that the public used throughout as a vantage point to view activities in the main arena.¹⁴⁸ There was a more serious side to the various tests and proficiency badges that Scouts undertook. Many, such as the Carpentry, Photography, Cyclists, First Aid, and Fireman’s Badges had a distinct application in the workforce.

There was though another voice expounding on character development considered revisionist for the time: Maria Montessori. She stated quite bluntly:

As a matter of fact in all the pedagogical congresses one hears that the great peril of our time is the lack of individual character in the scholars; yet these alarmists do not point out that this condition is due to the way in which education is managed, to scholastic slavery, which has for its specialty the repression of will-power and of force of

¹⁴⁶ Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, p. 113.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Mt Morgan’, *Morning Bulletin*, 5 October 1912, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ ‘The Boy Scouts’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 30 September 1912, p. 10.

character. The remedy is simply to enfranchise human development.¹⁴⁹

The Scout Method decried ‘scholastic slavery’; it went out of its way to enfranchise personal development through its programs and games. The early woodcraft programs and games were designed to provide a range of skills, some of which had a backwoods survival application, others tending towards a para-military situation, and a few applicable to everyday suburban life. However, in pursuing the programs and games, the boy was osmotically learning duty, obedience, and discipline, character traits that Baden-Powell considered essential. ‘Our main effort’, he stated, ‘is to attract the boys and beckon them on to the right road for success in life; we endeavour to equip them — especially the poorest — with “character” ’,¹⁵⁰ again reinforcing the middle class perception that working class children lacked character. In Queensland, the Scout Movement and the education authorities were of similar mind concerning education and character. Chief Scoutmaster Snow linked Scouting with the Education system in Queensland. At the Council of Control meeting in February 1914, Snow reported that the Education Department had adopted some of the tenets of the Scout Movement.¹⁵¹ Two years later addressing the 1916 State Council, he echoed the thoughts of Reginald Roe, Queensland’s Chief Inspector of Schools: ‘Educationalists now freely admit that the Scout Method of training is the nearest thing yet to true education, namely helping the individual to help himself’.¹⁵² The underlying objective of the Scout Movement, Chief Scoutmaster Snow explained to new members of the Central Executive Committee, was to ‘get the boys out of town, make them good citizens, and train them in self-reliance’.¹⁵³

Character development became a major focus of the Movement, and traits obtaining to good character underpinned the Scout Law and Promise, with its emphasis on inculcating such traits through the games and activities promoted at all levels. The non-competitive nature of the Scout Method of education, different as it was from the competitive exam structure of the education system, appealed to those who joined. Baden-Powell’s experiences in childhood, his youth, and his military career found voice

149 Maria Montessori, *The Montessori Method*, Stokes, New York, 1912, p. 367.

150 Baden-Powell, ‘The Other Fellow’s Point of View’, *Outlook*, June 1912.

151 Minutes, Council of Control, 13 February 1914, p. 1.

152 Report, Chief Scoutmaster Snow to State Council, 18 December 1916, p. 1.

153 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 25 October 1910, p. 1.

in the Scout Law and Promise. This gives a boy a blueprint for character development, a blueprint for life, and is simultaneously a metaphor for the conduct of the Empire. This emphasis on the inculcation of character in the education of the state's youth brought into focus concerns by the education authorities, other youth groups, and the Sunday School movement, that more needed to be done in this area. Their acknowledgement of this fact contributed significantly to the Movement's belief that its pedagogy and methodology was correct. Within that pedagogy and methodology, Baden-Powell saw character development as an essential ingredient of 'good' citizenship.

PART 3: CITIZENSHIP

While it is possible to conceive of citizenship and class as two separate entities, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, citizenship, according to Michael Ignatieff, attached only to male property owners with material, social and intellectual independence; the middle classes and above.¹⁵⁴ Although 'class' was entrenched in the political and social structures in England and Australia, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 'citizenship' particularly in Australia, was viewed more according to class. 'Citizenship' is viewed here as a political, social, and cultural quality attaching to a person, and 'character' is the inherent traits within a person: that the development of suitable responsibilities is a pre-requisite to creating a good citizen. Following World War I, Baden-Powell said, 'as nearly every man will now have political voting power, one of the aims of education should be to prepare the young citizen for his responsibilities in this line'.¹⁵⁵ The aim of the Scout Movement was to inculcate character traits within young boys to make them 'good' citizens useful to the state. *The Brisbane Courier* reflected the community's acceptance of this aim. It stated: 'One is pleased to note in this movement that the principles of good citizenship are being inculcated into the young life of our city. One of the objects of this movement is to foster those things that make for the highest types of manhood'.¹⁵⁶

The class system in the British Empire evolved from feudal times, with a firm belief in the immutability of each individual's place in the social order.¹⁵⁷ Diane Reay argues that

¹⁵⁴ Michael Ignatieff, in Messner, p. 28.

¹⁵⁵ Baden-Powell, 'The Responsibilities of Citizenship', *Outlook*, June 1918.

¹⁵⁶ 'Our Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 9 July 1910, p. 16

¹⁵⁷ Joyce Youings, *Sixteenth Century England*, Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1984, p. 110.

in Britain social class was ‘not only etched into our culture, it [was] still deeply etched into our psyches, despite claims of classlessness’.¹⁵⁸ Queensland inherited the English class system, and concern with the welfare of working-class youth surfaced early with the criticism that ‘their lifestyle remained uncondusive to the formation of the solid bourgeois citizen’.¹⁵⁹ John Gillis states that Scouting was but part of the whole child saving movement at the turn of the nineteenth century, particularly concentrating its efforts (on improving the working classes) towards abolishing juvenile unemployment, drinking in public, and smoking.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, John Springhall questions the ideology underpinning the Scout Movement, stating it was a ‘combination of Baden-Powell’s own personalized brand of middle class social imperialism, an omnipresent social Darwinism, and the Edwardian cult of national efficiency’.¹⁶¹ Paul Wilkinson agrees with Springhall, stating: ‘social-imperialism, social-Darwinism, the cult of efficiency, and certain fashionable attitudes towards social reform all find their way into the somewhat disingenuous yet incalculably influential scouting ideology of the pre-1914 phase’.¹⁶²

A brief word is necessary here concerning the term ‘social imperialism’ as Baden-Powell’s political and social inclinations have been so described, since they are part of his belief systems which influenced the foundation of the Boy Scout Movement, and can be seen in the manner in which the Movement developed in Queensland. Hans-Ulrich Wheler (in Geoff Eley) has defined social imperialism as excluding or not acknowledging internal divisions and differences in order to maintain the social and political status quo. Eley argues that Wheler’s concept is flawed; rather it was a ‘vehicle for modernizing and reforming the political and social environment’. He continues that many of these imperialist lobbying groups demanded a policy of political and social reform at home, in addition to [forging] imperialism abroad.¹⁶³ This accords with Baden-Powell’s belief system of urging political and social changes within Britain,

158 Diane Reay, ‘Beyond Consciousness? The Psychic Landscape of Social Class’, *Sociology*, vol. 39, no. 5, 2005, p. 912

159 Jamison, p. 64.

160 John Gillis ‘Conformity and Rebellion: Contrasting Styles of English and German Youth, 1900-33’, *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1973, p. 252.

161 Springhall, ‘The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in relation to British Youth Movements 1908-1930’, *International Review of Social History*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2009, p. 136.

162 Paul Wilkinson, ‘English Youth Movements, 1908-1930’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 4, no. 2, April 1969, p. 12.

163 Geoff Eley, ‘Defining social imperialism: Use and abuse of an idea’, *Social History*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1976, p. 268.

while insisting that the Imperial imperative abroad (development and control of the Dominions and Colonies), be prosecuted fully. He was fearful though of the emerging independence of the Dominions. 'We have heard of the disintegration of the British Empire ... I think this thought is generally fathered by the wish of some disgruntled foreigner'.¹⁶⁴

Baden-Powell also saw flaws in the formal education system; 'An eminent educational authority assured me today that our school education is all on wrong lines You should first of all develop the natural character of the boy by encouraging him in the natural athletic exercises which tend to make him brave, obedient and unselfish'.¹⁶⁵ His expectations of Dominion obligation for the Imperial benefit are evident in his comments concerning the Scouts of Australia:

These [boys] are all obliged to serve as cadets, and to learn shooting and drill; and being also generally good scouts and swimmers; they will be as good as their fathers have been for the defence of their own country or for helping our Empire should she ever need it.¹⁶⁶

Educating for citizenship was certainly exercising the minds of Australian educators. A meeting of history teachers in 1923 claimed that the teaching of history in Australian schools was 'of primary importance ... for citizenship and political life in the largest sense of the term'.¹⁶⁷

That the Boy Scout Movement produced boys imbued with those character traits that produced worthy citizens as adults, was generally accepted. In turn, the community looked to the Scout Movement to set an example of good character and citizenship to the youth of the day. In 1915, the Mayor of Mt Morgan, Mrs C. Humbler, enlisted the Boy Scout Troop to canvass the town for subscriptions to the Patriotic Fund, raising £26/2/10 in the process.¹⁶⁸ On a wider scale, the Survey Department, which for some time had been making military maps, did, after suitable instruction, entrust the Boy

¹⁶⁴ Baden-Powell, 'Duty to the King', *Outlook*, August 1926.

¹⁶⁵ Baden-Powell, 'The Value of Camp Life', *Outlook*, April 1911.

¹⁶⁶ Robert Baden Powell, *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas: My World Tour*, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, London, 1913p. 138.

¹⁶⁷ 'Australian History', *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 October 1923, p. 6.

¹⁶⁸ 'Patriotic Fund', *Morning Bulletin*, 1 February 1915, p. 3.

Scouts with small sections of the maps, 'to fill in upon them information concerning fords, the direction of river currents, railway crossings, towers, and other smaller objects of military interest'.¹⁶⁹ Although the Boy Scout Movement offered their assistance to the Government with the war effort, the government declined the offer. This did not stop individual Troops helping others organisations like the Red Cross. Scout Ernest Weller and his Wilston Troop rolled bandages using cutting, washing, and rolling equipment owned by Scoutmaster F. H. Murphy. Between 1915 and the end of the war, Wilston Troop produced 1,800,000 bandages over 8,850 hours with the boys putting in 3,014 attendances.¹⁷⁰

Although the Movement prided itself on its supposed classlessness, the intention was to provide the lower middle and working class boys with the character training which the upper and middle classes received in the Public Schools.¹⁷¹ This view is confirmed by Baden-Powell, who considered that the condition of working class men and women needed to be bettered, but that the obstacle was the barrier between the classes; the dichotomy between capital and labour. The remedy he said was education; education in character.¹⁷² In *Citizenship*, he evidenced empathy for one element of Chamberlain's social imperialism; support for policies that would improve the lot of the working class to avoid class antagonism, which would be debilitating to the national imperative. Appropriating Abraham Lincoln's famous opening, he said:

A house divided against itself cannot stand. If a strong enemy wants our rich commerce and colonies, and sees us in England divided against each other, he would pounce in and capture us. For this, you must begin, as boys, not to think other classes of boys to be your enemies.¹⁷³

To understand how issues of citizenship — and class — influenced the development of Scouting in Queensland, it is necessary to examine these elements in the broader context of state and nation. Dalbir Ahlawat asserts that Australia was 'quagmired between emotional attachment and geographical reality', a reference to the cultural and racial

169 'Map Making and Reading', *Queensland Times*, 4 February 1915, p. 5.

170 Slaughter, pp. 31-32.

171 Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme', p. 610.

172 Baden-Powell, 'Reconstruction', *Outlook*, September 1918.

173 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 319.

bonds that tied Australia and Britain on the one hand, and the location of Australia in the Asia-Pacific region on the other. Ahlawat adds that an early challenge was to maintain the 'Britishness' and the 'whiteness', while facing the strategic issues posed by the surrounding Asian countries.¹⁷⁴ As first a colony, then a state, Queensland inherited the English class system, however, as a 'frontier' state, a major emphasis was on establishing an egalitarian society to 'maintain coherency and peaceful coexistence ... and to avoid domination of one section over the other'.¹⁷⁵ Robert Connell and Terry Irving cite a hegemony parallel to the traditional production/labour model; one where the ruling class exercise control over the 'relations and private life of civil society' — churches, schools, families and so forth.¹⁷⁶

Regardless of accusations against Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement concerning the use of such a similar hegemonic model under the guise of character building. The *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser* wrote a lengthy article lauding the training methods of the Scout Movement: 'Scouting ... helps boys. It encourages good citizenship ... and the qualities good citizenship requires — clean living, reliability, sense of duty [and] readiness to defend the honour and security of their country'.¹⁷⁷ In a rather pithy statement suggesting that young boys be the ideal starting point for character and citizenship education, John Wannamaker, United States merchant, religious leader and civic figure, said in *Boys Life Magazine*, the Boy Scouts of America's official journal: 'Save a man, you save one person: save a boy and you save the whole multiplication table'.¹⁷⁸ The Girl Guides, the Scouts' sister movement were no less highly thought of. 'A girl who is trained ... should become a woman with valuable qualities of citizenship. The ultimate aim is to make the girls of this generation healthier and better mothers of the next'.¹⁷⁹

174 Dalbir Ahlawat, 'Reinventing Australian Identity', *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, vol. 3, no. 11, June 2012, p. 59.

175 Hugh Mackay, *Reinventing Australia: The Mind and Mood of Australia in the 90s*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1993, in D. Ahlawat, p. 59.

176 Robert Connell & Terry Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History, Documents, Narrative and Argument*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1980, p. 22.

177 'Boy Scout Movement: Qualities of Citizenship', *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*, 3 October 1930, p. 3.

178 'A Heart to Heart talk on the Boy Scout Movement', *Boys Life Magazine*, Boy Scouts of America, vol. 1, October 1911, p. 27

179 'The Girl Guides', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 8 November 1917, p. 8.

The ruling class was grappling with the spectre of the average working class boy after leaving school being ‘allowed to run to seed if it be his sovereign pleasure: to learn nothing, to do nothing’.¹⁸⁰ However, an important legacy of liberal colonialism was the emergence of the non-Catholic church-founded schools, which ‘concentrated on character formation and other elements of the English Public School traditions’.¹⁸¹ This provided a dialogue that helped maintain middle class values, although Baden-Powell ‘wanted to cast his net wider; he had his eyes on boys who were outside all church influence’.¹⁸² This emphasis on character formation is a foundation for good citizenship, with both values embraced enthusiastically by the Boy Scout Movement.

Concepts of citizenship lie deeply embedded in the national psyche, and citizenship in Australia meant different things to different people. Australia was one of the first nations to embrace parliamentary democracy, enact full adult suffrage, and as Trevor Hogan says, ‘to elect labour movement parties to civilize capitalism’.¹⁸³ Michael Cathcart extrapolates on this, saying:

The concept of ‘the citizen’ is more than a legal technicality or the mere consequence of an individual’s birth place. It is an indication that an individual is recognised at large as a legitimate and enfranchised member of society. In Australia, the notion of citizenship has ... tended to signify attributes of cooperation, loyalty, and civic service rather than an enthusiasm for social criticism, reform, and independence.¹⁸⁴

Scouting imbued the boy with attributes of cooperation, loyalty, and civic service, and he took his place as a legitimate and accepted member of society. He willingly gave service to his community, often joined by his sister, the Girl Guide. As the diggers returned from the horrors of World War I, so communities honoured them and their fallen comrades. The Cairns Scout Troop had a ‘big hand in the work of the [ANZAC]

180 ‘Armed Australia’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 2 May 1908, p. 4.

181 Geoffrey Sherington & Craig Campbell, ‘Australian Liberalism, the middle class and public education from Henry Parkes to John Howard’, *Education Research and Perspectives*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2004, p. 62.

182 Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, p. 69.

183 Trevor Hogan, ‘Citizenship, Australian and Global’, *Thesis Eleven*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1996, p. 107.

184 Michael Cathcart, *Defending the National Tuckshop: Australia’s secret army of intrigue of 1931*, in J. Messner, p. 28.

appeal' raising £29/0/9, all but equalled by the Girl Guides, who raised £29/0/6.¹⁸⁵ The *Townsville Bulletin* praised the civic mindedness of members of the Townsville Troop when they rendered 'excellent service' during a fire that destroyed the property of T. M. Lafferty at North Ward.¹⁸⁶ The Admiralty recognised the value of Sea Scouts by requesting them to act 'as a central association of the Sea Cadet Corps ... to render such assistance to the Admiralty, when called upon to do so'. This entitled the Sea Scouts throughout the Empire to 'all the privileges accorded to units of the Admiralty Sea Cadet Corps'.¹⁸⁷ A Scout's loyalty is to the King, and to help celebrate the King's birthday at Nankin Creek on 3 June 1920, the Rockhampton Troop 'put up a swing, built a bridge across the creek, [erected] a ladies' tent, and a first aid tent'.¹⁸⁸ Loyalty and civic pride resided firmly in the activities of Queensland's Scout Troops.

Australia matured, and though there were many ties politically and commercially to England, *The Brisbane Courier* reported that the country possessed a patriotism, which embodied a wider citizenship than described by Professor John Seeley, who suggested that the Dominions should (still) regard themselves in a similar position to that of Lancashire or Yorkshire.¹⁸⁹ However, citizenship construction was a serious consideration by those described by Bryan Jamison as 'middle-class reform rational recreationalists' seeking to mould working class youth in the 'forge of bourgeois respectability'.¹⁹⁰ *The Worker* had a different slant, castigating the nation's capitalists for teaching the Boy Scouts 'unquestioning obedience, because docile workers [were] highly advantageous in industry'.¹⁹¹ While there were some similarities between the Scout Method and mainstream education, the integrative function of public education became more regimented as numbers increased and the liberal concept of citizenship education for the working class became a drill-accentuated, rote-learning regime. This perceived failure was exacerbated by working class lads leaving school at fourteen, and entering factories where conditions were reportedly little better than serfdom. A strategy of state support for youth movements was advocated by many in Australia who saw

185 'Anzac Memorial', *Cairns Post*, 26 May 1919, p. 4. Both the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides figure significantly in Anzac Day marches and activities from this time.

186 'North Ward Blaze', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 5 January 1920, p. 3.

187 'Boy Scouts Association', *The Brisbane Courier*, 6 March 1920, p. 5.

188 "Uncle Sam's Letter Bag", *Morning Bulletin*, 19 June 1920, p. 14.

189 'Constitution and Sovereign', *The Brisbane Courier*, 11 May 1910, p. 4.

190 Jamison, p. 61.

191 'The Real Basis of Ethics', *Worker*, 11 November 1920, p. 11.

‘Boys’ Clubs, forming a link between life of the school and that of industry ... extending the schools’ work of inculcating a sense of social responsibility’.¹⁹²

The Brisbane Courier was of similar mind, emphasising the link between the character of Queensland children and the future prosperity of the state, arguing that, as far as Queensland children were concerned, the state needed to consider developing ‘everything which makes for thoroughness and efficiency’.¹⁹³ Campbell and Proctor argue that adolescence was a ‘relatively new [topic] in educational discourse’, and Cecil Thompson, Inspector of Schools in Queensland, considered the educational needs of the adolescent required attention.¹⁹⁴ It was these working class adolescents that the Boy Scout Movement’s self-learning style of non-formal education aimed to recruit. The working classes however, were not attracted to the concept, nor were they impressed with the appearance of Boy Scouts:

Those silly little make-believe Red Indians, the Boy Scouts get more space than the parsons in the ‘leading daily’ on Saturdays. Theirs are the drivelling fashion columns, too. Last week they were told they must have three dents in their hats, their stockings turned down an inch below the knee, and their green braid garters have two ends on the outside of the leg. When the boy scouts are ordered to the front some day, what a sight it will be — for the little girls.¹⁹⁵

There is however, a more telling comparison. A report about working class youth in the ‘leading daily’ said they were, ‘independent and intractable, redolent of cigarette smoke, and afflicted with an endless flow of bad language’,¹⁹⁶ hardly the hallmark of responsible citizenship. *The Worker’s* correspondent would have done well to have been at Hyde Park a week later to witness a march past of some fifteen hundred ‘well disciplined’ Boy Scouts making ‘the hearts of no less than a quarter of a million people tingle with patriotic fervour’.¹⁹⁷ At the unveiling of an Honour Board at the Ipswich

192 Connell & Irving, p. 206.

193 ‘The Cadet System’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 13 February 1906, p. 4.

194 Campbell and Proctor, p. 146.

195 ‘In a Woman’s Mind’, *Worker*, 1 January 1910, p. 11.

196 Jamison, p. 64.

197 ‘The Boy Scout Movement: What it may do for the Empire’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 15 January 1910, p. 13.

Scout Den, commemorating Scouts Major S. B. Robinson, Quartermaster Connors, Corporal Bostock and Standard-Bearer Fittock who all fell at ANZAC Cove, David Gledson M. L. A, recognised the value of the Movement to the Community. He stated: 'every boy should try to be a Scout ... it moulded character'.¹⁹⁸ Although the thrust of Scouting in England aimed at the working class, in Queensland, the original Scout patrols were from the middle and lower middle classes and very few if any, from the working class. In an article in the *Brisbane Courier*, Baden-Powell acknowledged that Scouting had drawn mostly from the middle and lower-middle classes, but wanted particularly 'the harvest of the low, fallen, guttersnipe: [and wanting] to abolish the loafer in all classes and to give even the lowest a fair start off in life'.¹⁹⁹ The Governor and State Chief Scout, Sir John Goodwin, queried this, asking Chief Scoutmaster Snow if 'the Movement only touched one class of boy in the community', and asked if 'it would be of any assistance to the Movement if he appointed two Boy Scouts as Honorary Aides-de-Camp'. The first recorded Aides-de-Camp were Troop Leaders C. Baines of the 1st Albion Troop, and G. Hall of the West End Troop, appointed January 1930.²⁰⁰

The Scout Movement in Queensland continued to grow, and at this time, training in manliness was an essential element of character building and good citizenship. The Governor of Queensland, Sir John Goodwin believed that the Scout Movement was achieving this goal. He said: 'I rather think myself that the most important part of education is that which tends to the formation of good citizenship'.²⁰¹ Baden-Powell often cited the fall of the Roman Empire as an analogy to a loss of English manliness; if the Movement could catch the boy, the man would follow, beginning with the Wolf Cubs, then Scouts and eventually reaching Christian manhood in the Rover Section. Queensland leaders pursued this objective to stave off the degeneracy of an intractable, intemperate, selfish, and indifferent youth. One particular focus on Baden-Powell's ideology is the need to 'play the game'; team games in particular because they trained a boy in the essentials of good citizenship and good character. As Sally Marshall argues, 'The expressed intent of the team was the subordination of selfish interest to the general

198 'Scouts' Honour Board', *Queensland Times*, 14 August 1916, p. 5.

199 'B-P: The Inventor of the Boy Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1912, p. 5.

200 Minutes, Central Executive Committee 22 April 1929, p. 3; *The Brisbane Courier*, 17 January 1930, p. 14. This practice was continued, and the author had the privilege of being Scouting A.D.C. to Sir Henry Able Smith, 1961-1962.

201 Minutes, State Council, 15 October 1928, p. 4.

good'. Baden-Powell applied the same analogy to the nation, which he saw as a team with each citizen nobly 'playing the game' for the good of nation, not the glory of the self.²⁰² The public perception was favourable; the consensus was that the objectives of citizenship development were evident.²⁰³ In his annual report of 18 December 1916, the Chief Scoutmaster, Charles Snow, said: 'Under [Scouting's] charm larrikinism disappears (we have instances of this in Brisbane) for the gang is but a ready-made Scout patrol requiring a very special amount of guidance'. He continued: 'I have no hesitation in saying that the Scout movement in Queensland will take its rightful place as a Social and Educational necessity'.²⁰⁴

Snow advocated numerous measures to reinforce the standing of the Movement in the public eye. These included establishing a publicity committee to 'enlighten' the education authorities in the Scout Method and secure their cooperation, and to suppress imitation scout bodies that could harm 'true' scouting. Groups who imitated the Boy Scouts persisted. In 1929, the District Commissioner reported that 'The Ex-Imperial soldiers had formed a lad's brigade and they adopted practically the Scout Uniform and hat'.²⁰⁵ With an eye to maintaining leadership, the Committee of Control would attempt to 'create a type of Scout Officer, of rugged character, possessing imagination, personality, and healthy efficiency'.²⁰⁶ The Queensland Branch also sought recognition through the Defence Department of Boy Scouts of proven efficiency to continue Scout service in lieu of cadet drills.²⁰⁷ While this did not eventuate, the Honorary Secretary, Commander Wetherill had an interview with Major-General George Lee, Military Commandant of Queensland,²⁰⁸ who stated that he did not think the boy Scout Movement in any way interfered with the Compulsory Cadet Movement, 'but on the contrary rather assisted it'.²⁰⁹ Given the accusations of militarism levelled at the Movement at this time, supporters of the Movement argued that citizenship brought

202 Marshall, p. 57.

203 'Our Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 9 July 1910, p. 16

204 Report, Chief Scoutmaster Snow to State Council, 18 December 1916, p. 2.

205 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 22 July 1929, p. 3.

206 These (and other) leadership qualities are quoted frequently by Baden-Powell as being found only in the romanticised 'and imaginary dimensions of the Empire'. (See *Scouting for Boys*, 2004, Boehmer, p. xxvii).

207 Report, Chief Scoutmaster Snow to State Council, 18 December 1916, p. 3.

208 George Leonard Lee grew up in Australia although he received his military training in England. He served in the Boer War following which he received appointment to various staff positions in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland. Phillip Vernon, 'Lee, George Leonard (1860-1939)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, vol. 10, 1986.

209 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 18 January 1917, p. 1.

responsibilities and that character training was excellent groundwork regardless of whether the boys became soldiers, citizens, or colonists.

As people began looking to the end of the War and beyond, *The Leader* in Brisbane voiced what was a common concern: the training of youth:

For universal training extends in its results far beyond the physical as the outcome must be habits of obedience and discipline, both of which have close relation to national character and power ... The best course to be pursued, and that which would give the fullest and most beneficent results, would be the translation of principles and motives of action analogous to those animating the Boy Scouts into the system of universal training. The success of that splendid organisation consists in giving the boys who come under its influence an ideal to be translated into fact, the result being enthusiasm and devotion to the right; with physical and moral excellence — yes, and mental sharpening also — which must be one of the greatest assets a people can possess.²¹⁰

For the boy, Scouting was a fun thing, games and activities that catered to his love of adventure, where the fantasy of ‘buffaloes roaming in Kensington Gardens ... and the smoke from the Sioux lodges under the shadow of the Albert Memorial’ could easily be envisaged.²¹¹ This was however, only a veneer, which hid the serious aims of training in character, morality, and health in preparation for manhood, so preparing good citizens for the state.²¹² The acceptance of the Boy Scout Movement by Queensland’s communities, together with their praise of the contributions made by Scouts in a multitude of spheres, is testimony to the positive attitude Scouts adopted concerning their responsibilities of citizenship.

Conclusion

The Boy Scouts emerged in Queensland shortly after Federation. At that time, the States’ citizens of Australia still considered themselves an integral element of the British

²¹⁰ ‘Universal Training’, *The Leader*, 24 January 1919, p. 4.

²¹¹ Robert Baden-Powell, *Adventures and Accidents*, Methuen & Co, London, 1934, p. 66.

²¹² ‘The Boy Scouts’, *Queensland Times*, 28 February 1923, p. 10; ‘Good Citizens’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 16 August 1923, p. 13.

Empire and looked to England for commercial and industrial support. Queensland had a scattered population with many living outside the southeast corner, thus the tyranny of distance was a considerable factor in the development of the new organisation. Baden-Powell believed his scheme of inculcating character through activities and games attractive to young boys would encourage boys to be useful not only to Britain, but also to the Greater Empire. With the publication of *Scouting for Boys* at the beginning of 1908, the Boy Scout Movement came into being with ‘all enquiries to be directed to the Boy Scout Office, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta St, London, W.C’.²¹³

The popularity of *Scouting for Boys* ensured the nascent organisation spread rapidly, with patrols springing up spontaneously in suburbs and country towns, often without adult leaders. In Queensland, the first four patrols formed in Brisbane in 1908, at Ashgrove, Toowong, Kangaroo Point, and New Farm. In the same year, the principal newspaper of the state, *The Brisbane Courier*, announced it was the official organ of the Boy Scouts and reported their activities in detail. The development and expansion of the Movement in Queensland experienced difficulties concerning organisation and control with its first Central Executive Committee accused of restricting the decision-making processes to a select few. The Central Executive Committee wrote a constitution, which received approval from Imperial Headquarters, and this constitution formalised the Executive’s control in almost every respect of the Movement in Queensland.

Central to the philosophy and ideology of the Movement was the development of character in youths. It was Baden-Powell’s fervent wish that all youth — no matter what class — would find Scouting attractive. He further believed that the Empire had a responsibility to bring civilization to the dominions and colonies, especially the non-white colonies. Character was a construct that could be developed only via the Public School ethos of ‘playing the game’, which, along with the handbook *Scouting for Boys*, became a metaphor for the protection and expansion of the Empire. The Scout Law and Promise was the blueprint underpinning the ideology and philosophy of character development within the Movement, and a metaphor for the conduct of the nation and Empire. The Scout Method of inculcating the ideology and philosophy of the Movement into the boy had a sympathetic understanding within the Queensland Department of

²¹³ ‘Scouting as a Sport’, *The Times*, 17 March 1908, p. 4.

Public Instruction, which believed that character education was essential to the future development of the citizens of the State.

Elements of character and class impinged on citizenship. Class structures existed in both England and Australia — though in slightly different contexts in the two countries. Class in England had existed for centuries and most sections of the populace accepted — if not liked — it. In Australia, awareness of class existed, but people contested the concept with the emerging labour movement constantly agitating for improved working conditions and greater social and economic equality. The Labour Movement had achieved parliamentary status in the 1890s. Newspapers in Queensland supported the Boy Scout Movement, carrying regular bulletins of the activities of the troops throughout the State, and independent articles often authored by State and local dignitaries appeared frequently. While the Scout organisations in each state were autonomous, there existed a commonality of purpose: to try to attract the youth of all classes to an exciting and innovative organisation that promised adventure and excitement. Regardless, the underlying motivation was that no matter where it existed, the Scout Movement would create citizens who would be of value to the state, and Baden-Powell used his prodigious talents to assist people and towns and states and nations to promote this. With its emphasis on character development and citizenship responsibilities inculcated through a self-directed program of games and activities that appealed to youth, the steadily expanding Boy Scout Movement was making a significant contribution to Queensland Society.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT: DIRECTION, DISAGREEMENT, AND DIVERGENCE

INTRODUCTION

Baden-Powell sought to influence the development of the Boy Scout Movement through the force of his charismatic personality, by subtle persuasion, by appointing to management and other committees only those who agreed with his views, and as a last resort, terminating appointments of those who disagreed with him — in England and Australia. In Queensland Charles Snow and a select few followed Baden-Powell's lead. The Council of Control in Queensland put in place a strict hierarchical organisational structure for the Movement establishing itself as the centre of authority, and maintaining that authority by restricting the decision making processes to a select few. As a Major General, Baden-Powell expected his orders to be obeyed without question and this dictate carried through to the 7th Scout Law: 'A Scout obeys orders of his patrol leader or Scoutmaster without question'.¹ However, he soon found out that the same blind obedience accepted as the norm within the military, did not exist outside it, even though he believed that the Boy Scout organisation was his invention, and that his word was law. Just as in the public domain Baden-Powell *was* the Scout Movement, and vice versa (see page 18), it is interesting that Charles Snow came to be regarded the same way in Queensland. When Snow stepped down from the position of Chief Commissioner, to take on the role of Commissioner for Sea Scouts in 1922, *The Brisbane Courier* reported, 'Even amongst those who have never taken more than a superficial interest in the boy scout movement, in our midst the terms "boy scouts" and "Snow" are synonymous'.²

Within and around the Scouting Movement questions concerning the purpose and direction of the Movement emerged early, as did differences surrounding 'ownership' of the concept of the Boy Scouts. Although Richard Voeltz argues that Scouting had a multi-faceted ideology including nationalism, militarism, social Darwinism, social imperialism, Baden-Powell's nature worship, the 'Edwardian cult of national efficiency

1 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 50. The qualifying text adds, 'Even if he gets an order he does not like ... he must carry it out all the same *because it is his duty*'. (Baden-Powell's italics).

2 'Boy Scouts; Resignation of Commissioner Snow', *The Brisbane Courier*, 3 February 1922, p. 9.

and a rejection of modern urban civilisation',³ early disagreements were grounded more along the lines of its conceptual development, over which Baden-Powell believed he should have the final say. In Queensland, as elsewhere, allocation of responsibility for the day-to-day direction and management of the organisation, finances, local committee oversight, publication copyright and legal status of the Movement also caused disagreements. However, some of these differences occurred among the leaders and managers themselves, not directly with Baden-Powell, even though he felt compelled to intervene personally on more than one occasion.

The first serious disagreements concerning the direction in which the Scout Movement should proceed centred on the purpose of Scouting, and who should have a say in what that purpose and direction should be. The disagreement became polarised; was Scouting a movement for peace or was it militaristic? Another potentially dangerous situation was Baden-Powell's involvement and eventual disagreement with Ernest Thompson Seton, who founded the Woodcraft Indian youth movement in America in 1902. This involvement was to create serious ramifications for Scouting, given the plagiarising of Seton's ideas from the *Birch Bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians*, the movement's handbook; the matter ending up before the Supreme Court of New York State in 1917. Within a relatively short space of time, issues of direction, decision making and control caused divergences; the Vane rebellion in England, secessionist movements in Queensland and Victoria, and rival organisations in America.

PART 1: DIRECTION

In 1912, King George V granted the Boy Scouts Association their Royal Charter.⁴ The Royal Charter gave Baden-Powell authority to form a governing body and appoint officers to various positions. He drew up an organisational chart with himself as President as a means of commending the organisation to the public and engendering support from quarters likely to be advantageous. Thus, high-ranking military officers, members of the ecclesiastical elite, universities, and public schools received appointment to various sections of the body. Baden-Powell was vigilant to ensure that

3 Voeltz, 'Reflections on Baden-Powell, the British Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Racism, Militarism and Feminism', p. 1.

4 The Boy Scouts Association, *Royal Charter of the Scout Association*, 4 January 1912, and as amended, 1949, 1959, 1967, and 1991.

the governing body shared his values and Imperial vision. Baden-Powell dismissed suggestions that he should elect to the governing body people from the Scouting Movement as unworkable.⁵ Ernest Reynolds asserts that Baden-Powell's opposition was not philosophical; just that he believed that a representative system would be unworkable. But Reynolds's view loses creditability considering Norway used a democratic system of electing their Chief Scout and Commissioners.⁶ While Eileen Wade is careful to point out that Baden-Powell worked on the principle of structural decentralisation,⁷ it is important to distinguish between decentralisation and democracy; grass roots level people had very little say in the development of policy or procedures; 'it was a compromise between democracy and bureaucracy with a decided bias towards autocracy'.⁸

In Queensland, decision-making did not devolve down to Division, District, or Group levels. Taking an independent stance of Imperial Headquarters, (though following Baden-Powell's same action with the London Council),⁹ the Council of Control decided unilaterally who would be members of the Council and jealously guarded both the decision and the power they garnered to themselves. On the other hand, the administrators of Scouting in Victoria saw themselves as inferior to their counterparts in Britain; with Britain declaring Victoria needed 'official' recognition from Imperial Headquarters before it could function.¹⁰ Queensland proceeded quite happily without official recognition, and when Baden-Powell questioned the military appearance of the regulations in Queensland, the Council of Control recorded in their minutes of 11 April 1919, 'it was decided to say that although the Regulations may be so worded, the spirit behind the Scout Movement in Queensland is none-the-less correct'.¹¹

While the minutes of the organisation give précis accounts of the Council of Control's and Central Executive Committee's doings, they are bereft of the activities of individual Scouts, other than when a Scout is conspicuous by his actions, mostly via displays of bravery and courage. Headquarters Staff Order of 14 August 1918, states baldly that

5 P. B. Neville, 'My Scouting Story', n. p., London, 1960, in J. Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1904*, Croom Helm, London, 1977, p. 62.

6 Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, p. 77.

7 Wade, *Twenty-One Years of Scouting*, p. 39.

8 Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1904*, p. 62.

9 Memo on Function of Headquarters, 1934, TC32, SAA.

10 Marshall, p. 30.

11 Minutes, Council of Control, 11 April 1919, p. 1.

awards for gallantry will be made to 'No. 2049 Scout Clifford Blair (Wilston Troop, Brisbane) and to No. 2410 Scout Alan Hobbs (Ingham Troop) for Gallantry for saving life'.¹² The *National Leader* was more forthcoming:

His Excellency Sir H. Goold-Adams ... proceeded to present to First-Class Scout C. Blair, of the 1st Wilston Troop, a silver medal presented by Sir Robert Baden-Powell.

On Tuesday afternoon December 5, 1916, when going home from school, a party of eight boys went in swimming in a creek in Thistle Estate, Windsor. One of the boys, named Richard Reoch, who could not swim, dived into the creek and was carried away by the strong current, out of his depth into about 12 ft. of water. One of the other boys on the bank ... called out to Scout C. Blair that Reoch was drowning. Blair dived into the creek, swam out to Reoch, and grabbed him ... [and] after struggling with his patient a while ... eventually got Reoch to land.¹³

Similarly, Corporal L. H. Major's gallantry appears via Headquarters' regular bulletins to *the Brisbane Courier*. In an article 'Boy Scout News', 'Cpl. Major is to receive the Silver Cross for gallantry displayed in rescuing a lad from drowning in the Brisbane River'. In December 1920, Cpl. Major saved William Morrison's son from drowning and in recognition of his bravery, T. M. Hall, M. L. C, presented a silver watch to Cpl. Major on behalf of William Morrison. The newspaper went on to reinforce the beneficial effects of the Scout Movement: 'The value to the community cannot be overestimated of having in its midst a large body of citizens possessing a knowledge of first aid — life-saving methods, firemen's work, sanitation, &c'.¹⁴ However, while Scouting at Troop level was being lauded by the press, there was discord and discontent within the organisational and administrative sections of the Movement.

T. R. Roydhouse and Captain F. A. White incurred Baden-Powell's displeasure more overtly — Roydhouse, through Baden-Powell's paranoia concerning newspaper

¹² The Boy Scouts Association, Queensland Branch, Head Quarters Staff Order, 14 August 1918, p. 3.

¹³ 'Boy Scouts', *National Leader*, 31 May 1918, p. 5.

¹⁴ 'Boy Scouts', *The Queenslander*, 26 November 1921, p. 18; 'Boy Scout News: Guard of Honour', *The Brisbane Courier*, 1 July 1922, p. 10.

proprietors and editors, and White because he dared to question Baden-Powell's objectives for on Scouting in Australia. Roydhouse was the editor of the *Sydney Sunday Times* and Chairman of the New South Wales State Council of Boy Scouts. He had given excellent service to Scouting through not only his own newspaper but by acting as a conduit in the very early days of Scouting in Australia, playing a significant role in promoting the scheme. Baden-Powell's unease with Roydhouse came from the former's adverse experience with C. Arthur Pearson, the founder and proprietor of the *Daily Express*. After seeing the first draft of *Scouting for Boys* with its mix of fact and fantasy, nationalism and escapism, and the promise of adventure in exotic places, Pearson was convinced the Boy Scouts could be a very profitable enterprise. In Baden-Powell's agreement with Pearson of 30 July 1906, all the financial arrangements, including royalties from *Scouting for Boys* were undetermined.¹⁵ However, Pearson secured the royalties in return for financing Baden-Powell's expenses, and soon assumed total control of editorial matters in both *Scouting for Boys* and weekly the paper *The Scout*. Baden-Powell was appalled at the cuts Pearson made in *Scouting for Boys*, and decried the advertising and tone of *The Scout* to be just like any other paper. However, because Pearson controlled the finances, there was little Baden-Powell could do.¹⁶ The matter degenerated further and did not resolve itself until King George V granted the Boy Scouts Association their Royal Charter in 1912, giving Baden-Powell total control of the organisation. Baden-Powell believed that because Roydhouse was a newspaper editor, then by definition, a conflict of interest must have existed. There is no record of Baden-Powell discussing the situation, other than a peremptory request for Roydhouse's resignation. He complied.¹⁷ In Baden-Powell's letter of effuse praise of Roydhouse, there is no mention that it was a requested resignation.¹⁸

Captain White was the Victorian Chief Commissioner and a staunch (Australian) nationalist. He firmly believed that as a sovereign state, Australia should exercise its own control in all matters concerning the Scout Movement without interference from London, including leader appointments, policy matters and the badge system. He echoed what many others had expressed, including Donald McDonald, Scouting correspondent

¹⁵ Jeal, p. 388.

¹⁶ Letter, Baden-Powell to Peter Keary (Pearson's senior manager), 12 or 13 March 1908, in the 'Founding of the Boy Scouts as seen through the Letters of Lord Baden-Powell', P. C. Richards, ed, Massachusetts, 1973.

¹⁷ Baden-Powell, Scouting Diary of Australian visit 1912, TC 49, Scout Association Archive (UK).

¹⁸ *Sunday Times* (Sydney), 8 December 1912. p. 27.

for *The Argus*, that conditions in Australia were so different and that by slavishly following the dictates of London, Australian Scouting was suffering.¹⁹ Baden-Powell asked White to resign, but he refused, and eventually Baden-Powell withdrew his warrant. White failed to understand Baden-Powell's Imperialist stance: the boys were part of the white colonial empire whose first loyalty was to a shared common British heritage.²⁰ White also had no understanding of the influence that Baden-Powell could exert from the other side of the world.

The Chief Scoutmaster in Queensland, Charles Snow, similarly believed that he had the ultimate say in the granting and withdrawal of leader's warrants. Although the details of a warrant withdrawal are rarely noted in the minutes other than notice of the fact, one particular case is worthy of mention because of what is recorded and what is *not* recorded, and is indicative that the 'B. S. A. in Queensland is getting increasingly "red-tape"' .²¹ Leonard Lovejoy was one of the four original Scoutmasters in Brisbane and a close friend of Snow. In 1919 a complaint was received that Lovejoy 'had told immoral stories to his boy & some other lads, & that his behaviour at a Camp of boys was such that he was not fit to be an officer of the Assn. & that he had brought discredit to the Scout Movement in the Ithaca district'.²² Lovejoy received the opportunity of an enquiry. The minutes of the next meeting suggest that there may have been manoeuvring behind the scenes. They state: 'Letters from Mr Lovejoy (late Scoutmaster) were read but it was decided as his resignation has been accepted the matter cannot be re-opened'.²³ Given that meetings of the Central Executive Committee were monthly, the question arises, when did the Central Executive Committee receive Lovejoy's resignation, was it accepted — if so, when, and why is there no record of this in the minutes or other surviving records? Lovejoy's next move was to withdraw his resignation, requesting re-instatement, but 'it was decided to inform him that the matter cannot be re-opened'.²⁴ The Central Executive Committee refused a request for a 'Thanks Badge' by the Ashgrove Group, and when the Group protested, J. Bronnlie Henderson and a Headquarters Staff member visited the Group on 17 September 1919 for 'the purpose of clearing up the dissatisfaction regarding Mr Lovejoy leaving the

19 'Scouting for Boys', *The Argus*, 13 April 1909, p. 6.

20 Baden-Powell, *Scouting Diary of Australia*, 1912.

21 Letter, Benjamin Patterson to R. McEwan, 20 October 1949, p. 5. Copy in Author's possession.

22 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 4 March 1919, p. 1.

23 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 11 April 1919, p. 1.

24 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 12 June 1919, p. 1.

Association.’²⁵ Scout Groups had no recourse against unilateral decisions made by the Central Executive Committee. There is no further mention of Lovejoy in this period, however Leslie Slaughter writes, ‘Of the pioneers yet in Scouting there [is] Leonard Lovejoy who was one of the first Scoutmasters in Queensland in August 1908. He is now [1957] Cubmaster with Ashgrove Group’.²⁶

The question of granting warrants was an on-going issue. Charles Snow said in 1926 that ‘a number of mistakes had been made in granting warrants to those who ... were not qualified for the position of Scoutmaster’. He was concerned that youth did not ‘meditate on natural things, but took things for granted’, and that there were about twenty warrants held up.²⁷ There is no indication what the ‘mistakes’ were, but given the Branch’s proclivity for keeping tight control on the direction of the Movement, they were erring on the side of restricting expansion rather than bringing in the many more boys that Chairman of the Council, F. R. Lloyd wanted.²⁸ This control prevented both youth and potential leaders gaining access to the Movement.

Baden-Powell’s concern was that all class of youth should have access. The professed objective of Scouting was to attract all youth no matter what social class they belonged to, but the reality was quite different. Alan Kirz argues that the altruism of Scouting as a conservative organisation does not extend intentionally to promote social change, though acknowledging that individual members could be a force for change.²⁹ John Springhall agrees, but concludes that there was a hidden agenda of social control, stating: ‘the middle class benefactors or activists involved in youth movements set out to mould the leisure of the ‘unenlightened’ young into the more amenable and familiar shape of their own superior way of life’.³⁰ However, in discussing the Canadian experience, Ross Bragg says that while the early years of Scouting are difficult to decipher through a lack of records, ‘the idea that the movement was a desirable agent for controlling youth for reasons of class hegemony or militarism does not hold up’.³¹ It is possible to read

25 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 11 September 1919, p. 1.

26 Slaughter, p. 62. Lovejoy outlived Snow’s opprobrium to re-join the Movement and serve with distinction. (Snow died in 1953).

27 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 22 March 1926, p. 2.

28 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 1 September 1932, p. 3.

29 Alan Kirz, ‘A Case Study of the knowledge and understanding of Leadership amongst Leaders in the Scout Association in an English City’, PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, England, 2007, p. 28.

30 Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1904*, p. 126.

31 Ross Bragg, ‘The Boy Scout Movement in Canada: Defining constructs of masculinity for the twentieth century’. MA thesis, Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, 1995, p. 11.

manipulation strategies into the minutes and reports of the Queensland Branch, which in turn gives rise to accusations of social or even eugenic control. Should Cubs and Scouts be of a certain height before admission? Well, yes, there was such a requirement. The *National Leader* reporting on the commencement of the Wolf Cub Section said, 'This Troop is for lads under the required height standard, and who, when they reach the standard height will be drafted into the main body. The age of these boys must be 10½ and upwards, and they must be 4 ft 6 in (132 cm) in height'.³² Staff Scout Master Owen queried the height standard in the northern centres in 1919, but the Central Executive Committee decided 'to hold the matter over until the return of the Chief Scoutmaster'.³³ Displaying shades of King Canute, Snow, in his annual report of 1927, decried the 'literature of dubious thought, rapid means of transit and communication, high wages, variety of provided entertainment and the failure of education as a steadying influence on character building', suggesting that the modern adolescent, with little guidance from ineffectual parenting, had lost his way. He added that it was not sufficient to pronounce a Scout benediction and leave the adolescent to his own devices, but that he needed Scouting through to adulthood.³⁴ Like Baden-Powell, Snow believed that Scouting was the salvation of modern youth.

Bryan Jamison argues that the Boy Scouts, Gordon Clubs, Boys Brigade, and others, grew out of the parish work of the evangelicals and that the vast majority of these were socially and politically conservative. He goes on to say that, these organisations were overwhelmingly middle class in origin. While the four original Scout patrols in Queensland were all led by men with church connections, there is no truth in Jamison's claim that they 'devised little that was novel'.³⁵ The Scout Movement did not grow out of the evangelical work of the churches. It grew out of perceived deficiencies in the social and political situation in England. 'The same causes which brought about the fall of the great Roman Empire are working today in Great Britain...the evil is patent enough, yet little seems to be done', Baden-Powell explained. He goes on to say that while the education system provides plenty of bookwork, 'there is no development of the quality that counts, namely, *character*',³⁶ (Baden-Powell's italics) and Scouting's

32 'Boy Scouts', *National Leader*, 21 June 1918, p. 6.

33 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 12 June 1919, p. 2.

34 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1927.

35 Jamison, 'Making "honest, truthful and industrious men": newsboys, rational recreation and the construction of the citizen" in late Victorian and Edwardian Brisbane', p. 62.

36 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1924, pp. 301, 305, 306.

approach to youth work was quite different from that taken by the churches. The games and activities, camping and woodcraft were unique to the Boy Scouts, and the minimal emphasis on drill and absence of bible lessons were other points of appeal.

Regardless of the intellectual debate that occurred at administrative levels, the boys themselves were pursuing their Scouting activities responsibly and enthusiastically.³⁷ Camping and hiking were high on the 'must-do' list, and the press of the time were generous in their support of the Troops and their achievements. The Easter camp on Stradbroke Island in 1918 saw 147 Scouts from the Brisbane Division participating in cooking, pioneering, and swimming and life-saving competitions, with Scout A. G. Phillips selected to receive the trophy flag on behalf of the Ipswich Troop, who achieved 104 points for the whole Camp.³⁸ The Sherwood Troop, under the supervision of Stuart Cameron built a bush hut at their permanent campsite near Moggill Creek.³⁹ Horace Eisenberg and Cyril Wishart of the Warwick Troop hiked from Warwick to Brisbane: their journey of more than 100 miles taking them just six days.⁴⁰ More than fifty people visited the 2nd Toowong Patrol when they camped at Fingal. Under the control of Patrol Leader Keith Iliff, the Scouts honed their skills in signalling, camp cooking, study of Aborigine lore, boating, fishing, and surfing.⁴¹ All of these reports confirm the pedagogy of the Scout Method of creating characterful citizens through woodcraft, where much of the learning is osmotic.

In Queensland, the Boy Scouts appealed mostly to middle class families but failed to attract working class youth in any substantive way. This was partly because of the elitist structure of the organisation, and because the discipline strictures were fixed and unbending. The Headquarters Bulletin of January 1910 stated: 'Patrol Leaders should insist on Scouts saluting on receiving an order', and in a response to grumbles of discontent from the boys, Headquarters admonished them to remember that 'some are born to rule: some are born to obey'.⁴² Notwithstanding the discipline requirements of loyalty and obedience, newspapers throughout the state reported on Scout activities on

37 'Patriotism and Economy', *The Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts*, 13 January 1917, p. 5; 'Boy Scouts: a Pleasant Outing', *Warwick Examiner and Times*, 16 July 1917, p. 4.

38 'Boy Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 10 April 1918, p. 4.

39 'Boy Scouts', *The Queenslander*, 26 November 1921, p. 18.

40 'Brisbane News', *The Queensland Times*, 16 August 1918, p. 5.

41 'Boy Scouts at Fingal', *The Brisbane Courier*, 15 January 1923, p. 10.

42 *The Brisbane Courier*, 1 January 1910, p. 10.

a regular basis. The regional daily papers carried a weekly feature called 'Boy Scouts', and *The Brisbane Courier* as the official organ of the Movement carried the weekly 'Headquarters Bulletin' which posted official announcements by the Council of Control, and reported at length on the activities of the Troops in the Brisbane Division.

It is through these press releases rather than the official minutes and correspondence of Headquarters that the activities of the boys themselves came to light. Sometimes the newspaper embellishes these releases, but sometimes, as in the case of the Humpybong Troop they contain just raw data:

The Humpybong Troop, although quite young, is making its existence felt in Redcliffe, and has already been responsible for carrying out many good turns in the way of public service. Scout A. Oreen found a missing child, which had wandered some two or three miles away from its parents. On being offered a reward by the grateful mother, he refused, and explained that he was a scout. Wolf Cub C. Rogers saw a small boy receive a nasty cut on the head from a stone, and promptly conveyed him to the Ambulance Station for treatment, and then escorted him to his home. Tenderfoot E. Rogers, by his promptness, saved what may have been a serious motorcar accident. Three cars were coming towards the same corner, and a baby girl, named Bowerman, ran in front of one car to another. Rogers saw the situation, and, with great presence of mind, ran in between the cars, and carried the child out of harm's way.⁴³

The uniform required was beyond the means of many working class families, and working class lads believed shorts were for little boys, not the men they believed themselves to be. Scouting did not draw even moderately from some lower status working class areas of Brisbane. The larrikins of these suburbs frequently went out of their way to denigrate and even physically abuse Scouts, with one attack leading to a near choking of one scout with another bound and thrown into a prickly pear bush.⁴⁴ Scouting did not, as Charles Snow claimed, reduce incidences of larrikinism or other

⁴³ 'Boy Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 22 March 1924, p. 11.

⁴⁴ *The Brisbane Courier*, 5 March, 1910, p. 11.

juvenile offences with the gangs quite effectively resisting the temptation to become a 'ready-made patrol' in the Boy Scouts.⁴⁵

Baden-Powell had reservations about the effectiveness of a strict academic education: 'it is education for life that is needed since scholastic attainments help only the comparatively few ... and tends to prepare boys and girls for the standard of examination rather than the needs for life'.⁴⁶ John Meyer agrees, arguing that institutionalised education not only allocates success and failure; it 'creates both elites and citizens ... which then become incorporated in society'.⁴⁷ Baden-Powell used the 'elites', but his main goal was to reach the working classes, with Scouting taking the place of the Public School, 'and give ... to the mass of our rising generation some spirit ... loyalty, character in which they have no kind of education in their schools'.⁴⁸ The Education sector at this time also had issues with the working classes. Andrew Barlow, the Minister for Education in Queensland, recognised the challenge facing education by commenting that what was possible in the densely populated areas of England was not possible in their State.⁴⁹ Schools were struggling with attendance with working class children splitting their time between work or domestic duties and school. Barlow introduced 'continuation classes' as a means of bolstering the structure of vocational study, however voluntary participation and the leaving age of twelve years resulted in the scheme being discontinued after a few years.⁵⁰

The Board of Education in England was not convinced of the Movement's direction. When Baden-Powell sought closer ties with the education sector, the President of the Board, J. A. Peace replied: 'I think there is some justification for the feeling that the boy scouts' organisation is merely a military movement in order to secure compulsory military service throughout the country'.⁵¹ However, the Department of Public Instruction in Queensland was supportive of the Boy Scout Movement, recognising the

45 Report, Chief Scoutmaster Snow to State Council 18 December 1916, p. 1.

46 Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting and Youth Movements*, Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1929, p. 7.

47 John Meyer, 'The Effects of Education as an Institution', *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 83, no. 1, University of Chicago Press, 1977, pp. 68-69.

48 Robert Baden-Powell, Article on Cadets and Cadet Training, 1916, Box D, SAA.

49 Tom Watson, 'Introducing the Soldiers', in E. Clarke & T. Watson, (eds), *Soldiers of the Service: Some Early Queensland Educators and their Schools, Volume 2*, History of Queensland Education Society, Brisbane, 1996, p. 2.

50 Watson, 'Andrew Barlow: A Reforming Minister of Education, 1903-1909', in Clarke & Watson, pp. 32-33

51 'Boy Scouts and Militarism', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1913, p. 11.

common objective of instilling traits of honesty, loyalty, and obedience in children. The Department permitted Scout Troops to operate in schools. Rangeville School had a very active troop; putting on displays at local shows, and forming a mounted Troop⁵².



Figure 4: 'Best Decorated Private Vehicle at the Toowoomba Patriotic Carnival last month, won by Rangeville School Boy Scouts'.⁵³

In Queensland, Scouting existed very much as an outpost of the Empire. Baden-Powell considered this the norm as evidenced by his comments following his various tours of the Dominions in 1912: 'To Canada goes the honour of being the largest Dominion ... ten times the size of the parent country ... and as the boys grow up ... the British Empire will be a still mightier one than it is now'. In Australia, he noted that the boys are 'all obliged to serve as cadets and to learn shooting and drill ... and generally being good scouts and swimmers, they will be as good as their fathers have been for the defence of their own country or for helping our Empire should she ever need it'. Even in Norway and Sweden, Baden-Powell could not avoid his sense of 'Britishness', telling Norwegian Scouts they were 'as like English boys as their flag was like ours', and found Swedish Scouts an 'equally British-looking lot'.⁵⁴

The direction of Scouting at Troop level was quite clear. They were successfully pursuing the camping, hiking and bushcraft activities, while simultaneously performing a valuable service to their communities via voluntary work and on the odd occasion acts of courage and bravery. At organisational level, however, questions were being asked concerning policy development, and disagreements began to surface.

⁵² 'S. A. Education Mission ... The Rangeville School', *The Brisbane Courier*, 8 April, 1911, p. 4.

⁵³ No Title, *The Brisbane Courier*, 31 July 1915, p. 13.

⁵⁴ Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas: My World Tour*, pp. 65, 138, 242, 243.

PART 2: DISAGREEMENT

Youth movements, including the Boy Scouts, usually aimed at socialising youth into existing class orders. Most centred on the Church and Sunday School and relied on a strict regime of drill and religious instruction, where discipline was rigid and mostly unbending. While Baden-Powell believed that discipline was essential to the mix, he considered that self-imposed discipline that came from a strong character was better than strictures imposed from without. However, he had a wider vision, namely to ‘make our race a nation of energetic, capable workers, good citizens, whether for life in Britain or overseas’.⁵⁵

Baden-Powell considered the spectre of a crumbling Empire unacceptable, declaring, ‘the same causes that brought about the downfall of the Roman Empire are working today in Great Britain ... *namely bad citizenship produced by indifferent government*’. He did not see academic education as the answer, stating: ‘the present scheme of education included plenty of bookwork, but no development of the quality that counts — namely character’,⁵⁶ but he believed that Scouting was helping the authorities to produce responsible citizens and that ‘they are working entirely in accord with us in a number of important centres’.⁵⁷ As a social imperialist, he believed that the Empire’s duty was not only to its own citizens, but also to establish *Pax Britannica* ‘over these savage countries’.⁵⁸ His views extended to the Dominions and Colonies all won by the hard work of English adventurers and owned by Britain.⁵⁹ In return, he believed, the Dominions had a duty of allegiance to the Empire; to forge stronger links with the Mother Country.⁶⁰ However, historians are divided on the early direction that Baden-Powell envisaged for the Movement; one group insisting that Scouting was conceived as a peace movement, the other as a militarist movement. This debate, though bitter and short-lived (1908 to about 1917), overshadowed the development of Scouting at this time, and contributed to secessions. Baden-Powell wrote on both pacifist and militarist concepts, sometimes contradicting himself. His peace scouts were the heroes of the backwoods, the frontiersmen on the Wild West ‘whether in the schooners in the South

55 Baden-Powell, ‘Our Aim’, *Outlook*, May 1910.

56 Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, p. 127.

57 Baden-Powell, ‘Education’, *Outlook*, January 1912.

58 Baden-Powell, *Downfall of Prempeh*, p. 8.

59 Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas: My World Tour*, p. 58.

60 Baden-Powell, ‘Overseas Scouts’, *Outlook*, June 1913.

Seas, or the icebergs of Newfoundland; the searing bush of Australia or bringing enlightenment to the natives of Nigeria or the Sudan'.⁶¹

Sir Ernest Shackleton was a peace scout when exploring the Antarctic. Shackleton believed strongly enough in the Scout Movement that he took two Scouts with him on his 1922 expedition. He interviewed eleven Scouts between the ages of 17 and 19 years and eventually selected Patrol Leader N. E. Mooney of Kirkwall, Orkney, and Patrol Leader J. Marr of the 1st Aberdeen Troop. Shackleton said later of Marr, 'Everybody on board the *Quest* is fit and well. Marr, the Boy Scout, is shaping splendidly-; "He has become a Sailor," said Sir Ernest Shackleton, "and is one of the most efficient members of our ship's company." '⁶² On the way south, the expedition called at the Island of Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic Ocean, where Scout Marr had the privilege of presenting the local Scout Troop with Sir Robert Baden-Powell's flag, especially sent for the occasion.⁶³

Nevertheless, Baden-Powell implored Eton cadets to practise shooting,⁶⁴ and told Queensland Scouts that defence of the Empire could be within their eventual duty.⁶⁵ It was Baden-Powell's style to romanticise his writings vividly to appeal to urban youth. What he wanted, Richard Voeltz argues, 'was the creation of the warrior spirit in peacetime, the spirit of the knight or the Samurai, the code of Bushido, and he sincerely thought that ... a sort of international Never Land without women ... could be obtained through some pre-modern warrior spirit'.⁶⁶ What he got was disagreement on the direction of the Movement, which polarised quickly into the pacifist/militarist debate.

Allen Warren argues that the ideological infrastructure of Scouting emphasised training for citizenship, mostly educational in style, but also accepting of values of patriotism

61 Baden-Powell, *Lessons from the 'Varsity of Life*, p. 16.

62 'Quests Plans Changed', *The Brisbane Courier*, 13 January 1922, p. 4

63 'Boy Scouts in the Frozen South', *Morning Bulletin*, 29 May 1925, p. 13. The following week (5 June 1925, p. 7), the *Bulletin* said that Aberdeen University had facilitated Marr's Master of Arts and Master of Science degrees, 'in order that he might accompany the expedition to the North (sic) Pole as assistant biologist. This should effectually settle the doubts of parents as to whether scouting interferes with a boy's education' the paper added.

64 Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme', pp. 604-606.

65 Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas: My World Tour*, p. 138.

66 Voeltz, 'Reflections on Baden-Powell, the British Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Racism, Militarism and Feminism', p. 1.

and religious commitment.⁶⁷ Julia Messner states that Baden-Powell was careful not to promote Scouting as a military training scheme, assuring parents that Boy Scouts had no militarist objectives,⁶⁸ which is true up to a point, but she ignores his contradictory stance on pacifist/ militarist issues. It is here that a contradiction in Baden-Powell's character arose. He was anti-war, but not necessarily anti-military, having pointed out to a meeting of the Peace Society, 'that you cannot do away with war by abolishing armies', and went on to explain the brotherhood nature of Scouting, 'which will ultimately and automatically bring about disarmament and permanent peace'.⁶⁹ Anti-militarism was a watchword promoted at every turn. Staff Scoutmaster Milliken wrote in *The Brisbane Courier*: 'If anyone has the idea that it tends to militarism, may I point out that the boy scouts are essentially peace scouts, the instruction given is in the art of self-defence and in defence of their country not in the art of offence.'⁷⁰ However, Baden-Powell was also firm in his belief that Scouts would make an ideal officer corps through their education via the 'Scout Method', grounded as it was in the Public School character traits of obedience, duty, and loyalty.⁷¹ This brought out the irony of members of a movement for peace considered by 'both admirers and detractors of the Scout Movement alike' as the best equipped for war.⁷² It was these boys, imbued with traits of obedience and loyalty, who observed the Scout Law by being loyal 'to the King, his country; his officers ...', who proved themselves boys and men useful to the Empire.⁷³

As a way of furthering the peaceful intentions of Scouting, while testing the waters of internationalism, Baden-Powell staged a gathering of Scouts from all corners of the world at Olympia, London in 1920. There are varying accounts of participation, and Laszlo Ngay, former Chief Executive of the World Organisation of the Scout Movement places attendance at 8,000 Scouts from 12 British Dependencies and 21 independent countries.⁷⁴ It was the first international gathering of youth the world had seen, and although Queensland Scouting was not in a position to field a contingent to this Jamboree, fourteen attended the 1922 Imperial Jamboree at Wembley, England, and the 2nd International Jamboree held at Ermelunden, a few miles north of Copenhagen, in

⁶⁷ Warren, p. 392-393.

⁶⁸ Messner, p. 19.

⁶⁹ Baden-Powell, 'Anti-War, but not therefore, Anti-Military', *Outlook*, April 1914.

⁷⁰ 'The Boy Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 10 May 1910, p. 7.

⁷¹ Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, p. 128.

⁷² Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, p. 229.

⁷³ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 49.

⁷⁴ Laszlo Ngay, *250 Million Scouts*, Dartnell Publishers, Chicago, 1985, p. 90.

Denmark, immediately following the Wembley gathering. Rockhampton generously supported their two attendees, W. Fox of 1st Rockhampton and J. Reynolds of 4th Rockhampton with the City Council making a donation and the Mayor and Aldermen donating privately.⁷⁵ As one very aware of the power of the spectacular, at the closing ceremony Baden-Powell charged the boys to keep the peace, ‘Brother Scouts — answer me. Will you join in the endeavour?’⁷⁶ The answer from thousands of throats was a resounding, ‘I will do my best’.⁷⁷ Another view of the peace scout concept has a more revisionist stance.

It argues that the underlying purpose and direction of Scouting was to impose social control on working class youth; to make them obedient to the state. Many considered Baden-Powell’s inflexibility on obedience and oft quoted ‘brick-in-the-wall’ comment as confirming his upper class socialist thinking; that the lower classes should accept their station in life.⁷⁸ In analysing the Scout Laws Michael Rosenthal states that Baden-Powell was intent on producing a ‘serviceable, reliable boy; one who could always be trusted to act in certain predictable ways’. Rosenthal adds that the Scout Law ‘has very little to do with the individual except [where] that development is seen as a product of absolute submission to all forms of authority’.⁷⁹ Rosenthal is incorrect; the Scout Promise and Law have everything to do with the individual. Each boy accepts the Promise and Law on becoming a Scout, and Baden-Powell considered each boy accountable to them. The uniqueness of the Scout Promise is that a boy is required to do his *best* to keep the Scout Law; that having done his best, then he has discharged that Promise. The design and intent of the badge system clearly demonstrates this:

Some [Scoutmasters] are inclined to insist that their Scout should be first-rate before they get a badge ... but our object is to get *all* the boys interested, and every boy started on one or two hobbies, so that he may eventually find that which suits him the best and which may offer him a career for life.⁸⁰

75 ‘Boy Scouts: Empire Jamboree and Exhibition’, *Morning Bulletin*, 27 February 1924, p. 13.

76 Jeal, p. 511.

77 ‘The Jamboree’, *The Times*, 9 August 1920, p. 11.

78 Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, p. 30.

79 Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, pp. 111-112.

80 Baden-Powell, ‘Efficiency Badges’, *Outlook*, April 1910.

John Springhall argues that ideas of national efficiency, racial deterioration, and social Darwinism were central to the intellectual debate during a critical time when Baden-Powell was finalising his ideas on Scouting, and his comments on efficiency, nationalism and degeneracy confirm as much.⁸¹ It is difficult therefore to reconcile Allen Warren's position that the social and cultural concerns of contemporary society 'were not central to [Baden-Powell's] thinking'.⁸² Baden-Powell's anxieties as to the purity of the Empire and for youth to do their duty to the nation and race and produce healthy offspring⁸³ reflected the wider social concerns of the day. The eugenics movement found ready support among the middle and upper classes in support of Francis Galton's view that awareness of racial prejudice 'must be introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion'. Eugenists believed in selective breeding to maintain the 'superiority' of the 'white' races,⁸⁴ thus maintaining character traits of loyalty and patriotism. They also found a voice in Queensland: 'But it is incumbent upon us to deal with the problem of the betterment of the race ... the creation of a sound public opinion on Eugenics'.⁸⁵ Baden-Powell admonished Rover Scouts to keep their 'racial organ' clean to beget healthy children.⁸⁶

Baden-Powell saw the principal objective of Scouting as the bulwark of the Empire. It was the answer to a perceived decadence that threatened the youth of the nation namely, saving 'thousands of boys and young men, pale, narrow-chested, hunched-up miserable specimens, smoking endless cigarettes', from themselves.⁸⁷ Quoting an unknown educationalist, Baden-Powell said: 'You should first of all develop the natural character of the boy by encouraging him ... to make him manly, brave, obedient, and unselfish'.⁸⁸

There are obvious signs when considering Scouting as a militarist concept. The khaki

81 Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?' p. 941.

82 Warren, p. 397.

83 Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success*, pp. 105-111.

84 Francis Galton, 'Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1904, p. 5. Issues of racism and racial superiority were to create personal conflict for Baden-Powell in the 1920s and 1930s.

85 'Future Progress', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 8 January 1910, p. 3.

86 Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success*, p. 111

87 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 338.

88 Baden-Powell, 'The Value of Camp Life', *Outlook*, April 1911.

uniform; neo-militaristic insignias; the leaders were called officers and boy leaders called patrol leaders assisted by a corporal; each Troop had a bugler and parades and drills started and finished each meeting. There are however more profound considerations surrounding the perceived militaristic ideology of the Movement, and there are two main elements to these: Scouts serving in an ancillary role, and Scouts as



reservists available for active duty. The photograph at left shows Chief Scoutmaster Snow and his patrol, one of the four original patrols in Queensland going to camp with their rifles.

Figure 5. Chief Scoutmaster Snow (rear) and his patrol – with rifles.

A Scout took an oath that on his honour he would promise to do his duty to God and the King; to help others whatever it cost, and to know the Scout Law and obey it.⁸⁹ Many commentators saw that Law and Promise as a ‘hook’ for future military service, with Marshall citing the first sentence in *Scouting for Boys*, Camp-Fire Yarn No. 1: ‘I suppose every boy wants to help his country in some way or other’, as another subtle indicator.⁹⁰

The militarist viewpoint argues that scouting was an adjunct to the military, either in a voluntary defence capacity, or as reservists, liable for active service. Baden-Powell laid out several areas where a ‘Senior Patrol’ could serve including; emergency signallers, fire brigade duties, accident first-aiders, and performing coast watch duties.⁹¹ The government inaugurated the Voluntary Aid Detachment Scheme in 1909 to provide auxiliary military nursing staff during World War I. The scheme co-opted local youth organisations including the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in a variety of capacities, and Baden-Powell wrote to Elizabeth Haldane, sister of the Secretary of State for War urging that the Girl Guides be used for ‘voluntary aid ... or as a cadet branch, or feeder to the Territorial Organisation of Voluntary aid’.⁹² With the increasing possibility of war in Europe, Richard Haldane the Secretary of State for War was concerned about the physical fitness of the nation’s males and saw benefit in establishing closer ties with the Boy Scouts, Boys’ Brigade, Church Lads’ Brigade, and YMCA as a potential source of

89 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1956, p. 40.

90 Marshall, p. 6.

91 Baden-Powell, ‘Retention of the Elder Scout’, *Outlook*, December 1916.

92 Summers, pp. 945-946.

military recruits. He considered learning to shoot an essential ingredient of good citizenship.⁹³ The English government considered the introduction of a compulsory military training scheme, although the idea was very unpopular at the time. However, Lord Roberts and his National Service League offset the argument by suggesting that every boy be taught marksmanship on miniature rifle ranges, a view which Baden-Powell supported. Baden-Powell was also mindful of the need for character training and good citizenship. In speaking to boys, he told many meetings that there could be patriotism in peacetime and a first step was to do a good turn at least daily. Both he and Roberts firmly believed that generating an *esprit de corps* was an essential element of character building.⁹⁴

Inculcating a measure of *esprit de corps*, as implemented in their daily programs and during their camps and hikes, is a feature of the Scout method of training'.⁹⁵ At a Mooloolaba Cub and Scout Camp, Cub Guy Hamlyn-Harris won a special belt as the best Wolf Cub in the camp.⁹⁶ In a first for Australia, a Corroboree with a difference occurred at Canungra. Corroborees were normally a standing camp, but the organisers combined it with a 'Great Hike'. Organisers dropped Patrols at various points on the South Coast line and Patrol Leaders had sealed instructions and a map. They traversed most of the Lamington Plateau, Numinbah and Coomera Valleys, Christmas Creek, and many other locations.⁹⁷ Scouts also were aware of their responsibilities. The Buderim Troop mounted an all-night guard on the exhibits at the annual Buderim show. The Scouts performed one hour's duty each with Rovers Bolton and Jorgensen carrying out a two-hour stint.⁹⁸

The Cadet movement existed side-by-side with the Boy Scouts and caused Baden-Powell difficulties. There was a move to 'nationalise' the youth movements and install compulsory military cadet training, which would have generated difficulties for the fledgling Scout Movement. It did not happen, even though many spoke in favour of it, including Ian Hamilton who had served with Baden-Powell in South Africa. Hamilton considered that the political and education system was indelibly flawed, that salvation

93 *The Scouter*, 5 February 1910, n.p.

94 Warren, p. 383-384.

95 'Scout Ideals' *The Telegraph*, 28 June 1933, p. 6.

96 'Scouts on the home Trail', *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*, 11 January 1924, p. 9.

97 'First in the World: Great Scout Hike', *The Brisbane Courier*, 7 July 1925, p. 7.

98 'The Boy Scout Column', *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*, 1 June 1923, p. 2.

lay in organizations either ‘frankly military like the Territorial Force, or framed on a military pattern like Boys' Brigades, Church Lads' Brigades, Baden-Powell Scouts, and the Salvation Army.’⁹⁹ Baden-Powell adopted an unusual position; decrying the attempted militarisation of youth, but asserting that while Boy Scout policy was not to turn boys into soldiers, through character development gained in the Boy Scouts, the ‘results show that a very large proportion of our boys who have left us have gone into the Service’.¹⁰⁰

As in England, many Australian schools had a cadet corps attached to them. The corps promoted ‘adventurous, exciting glorious illusions of war’,¹⁰¹ which many influential thinkers saw ‘as a useful supplement to the citizen forces as an unpaid and semi-paid reserve’.¹⁰² However, there was one major difference between Australia and Britain; in 1911, Australia introduced a scheme of compulsory military training; the only Dominion in the Empire to do so. Alfred Deakin’s scheme required that twelve to fourteen year olds become junior cadets, fourteen to eighteen year olds, senior cadets, and eighteen to twenty-five year olds become members of the Citizen Military Forces.¹⁰³ This met with Baden-Powell’s full approval: ‘The boys of Australia are all obliged to serve as cadets and to learn shooting and drill and being also generally good scouts and swimmers, they will be as good as their fathers have been for the defence of their own country or for helping our Empire should she ever need it’.¹⁰⁴ At this time, Sir Robert Lucas Tooth donated £50,000 as the nucleus of a fund ‘to stimulate and extend the activities of the existing Boys’ Organisations similar to that of the Australian Cadets, and also provide for physical culture and rifle practice’.¹⁰⁵ *The Times* (London) referred to the localised manner of the Fund’s administration. In the same edition Baden-Powell, who supported the scheme, said, ‘I am glad it is not restricted to military organisations. I believe that training in citizenship, character, discipline, and patriotism is infinitely more important than soldiering, for which they are also essential foundations’.¹⁰⁶ Only

99 Hamilton, p. 10.

100 Robert Baden-Powell, ‘Boy Scouts in connection with National Training and National Service’, *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute*, 55, 1911, p. 593.

101 Nathan Wise, ‘Playing soldiers: Sydney private school cadet corps and the Great War’, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 96, no. 2, 2010, p. 184.

102 Stockings, ‘A Survey of Military, Educational and Community Expectations of the Cadet Movement in Australia, 1886 – 2006’, p. 238.

103 Notes on the Defence Act, No. 15 of 1909, Clause 12, Section 62, pp. 48-49.

104 Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas: My World Tour*, p. 138.

105 ‘Training Boys’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 6 November 1913, p. 7.

106 ‘The Training of Boys,’ *The Times*, 6 November 1913, p. 15.

a matter of two weeks later, Baden-Powell did a complete about-face: 'the Boy Scouts movement would be unable conscientiously to participate in the fund provided by Sir Robert Lucas Tooth for training boys as cadets ... cadet equipment was too expensive for the poorest boys to whom the Scout Movement devoted special attention'.¹⁰⁷ Given Baden-Powell's support of cadet schemes generally, it is difficult to understand his change of mind, other than that he may have thought he would lose control of some aspects of the Boy Scouts if he affiliated with the Lucas Tooth scheme.

Michael Rosenthal cites a letter by Baden-Powell as evidence that Baden-Powell's motives for forming the Boy Scouts were militaristic. The letter addressed to the cadet corps at Eton and published in *The Eton Chronicle*, advised the boys to recruit others and practise rifle shooting and skirmishing. He further suggested that the boys should take a form of oath: 'On my honour I promise that I will do my duty to God and the King'. This was yet another element that became part of the Boy Scout Movement.¹⁰⁸ He states that the cadets should recruit others in their street or village and teach them how to aim and shoot with miniature rifles, how to drill, skirmish, and take cover, and how to scout.¹⁰⁹ John Springhall goes a step further and explains that Baden-Powell organised the Scout Movement with one primary motive: 'to prepare the next generation of British soldiers for war and defence of the empire'.¹¹⁰ Many scholars have missed an important point; that Baden-Powell, while anti-war, was not anti-military; stating that while war was an out of date and brutal way to settle differences: 'there are many nations in Europe who are only partly civilised ... and anti-war is not therefore against self-defence'.¹¹¹ This seeming contradiction is in fact not a contradiction at all; there is a difference between resisting attack and self-defence, but it does not explain Baden-Powell's overt militaristic writings.

In an effort to play down the militarist argument, Warren states that by mid-1914 Scouts no longer participated in local Territorial manoeuvres. Anne Summers disagrees, citing Voluntary Aid Detachment records that reveal that both Boy Scout and Girl Guide

107 'Boys and Cadets', *The Brisbane Courier*, 18 November 1913, p. 7.

108 Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, p. 40.

109 Rosenthal, 'Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme', p. 606.

110 Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?' p. 935.

111 Baden-Powell, 'Anti-War, but not, therefore Anti-Military', *Outlook*, April 1914.

cooperation was undiminished through 1914.¹¹² Both points of view are valid. Throughout Baden-Powell's own writings and those of his contemporary biographers, references to the peaceful ideology and philosophy of Scouting abound.¹¹³ Between the end of the Boer War and the beginning of World War I, there was a strong militarist sentiment within the population brought about by increased militarism in Europe. Additionally, Germany's expansionist policies in Africa and the Pacific, and a perceived physical and moral decay of the Empire, evidenced by a report of general physical unfitness of the military, gave cause for concern.¹¹⁴ In Queensland, Scouting followed the policy directives of London, but the day-to-day running of the Troops followed programs with camps and parades, test and badge work and demonstrations and displays. These tended to have a militaristic flavour, with *The Brisbane Courier* reporting for example, instructions to the Mounted Troops to include, scouting and reconnaissance, tracking and shooting, and first aid and signalling.¹¹⁵ At this time there was considerable disquiet in Australia concerning the increased military posturing in Europe and the Pacific, and in 1909 the then Minister of Defence Joseph Cook MP asked 'what military value the trained boy scouts would have in addition to that now supplied by cadets.'¹¹⁶

Australia had had a cadet movement germinating from the introduction of military drill in many schools in the latter part of the 1800s,¹¹⁷ but on 1 January 1911, the new Defence Act introduced compulsory military training. Boys from 12 to 14 years became junior cadets; those 14 to 18 senior cadets, and those 18 to 25 undertook compulsory military training in the Citizens Military Forces.¹¹⁸ In an article titled 'Cadets Annihilated', *The Brisbane Courier* reported that Queenslanders were 'shocked' to find that the government had passed this act without consulting the people. The article went

112 Summers, p. 945.

113 Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, p. 3; *Outlook*, December 1911; *Scouting and Youth Movements*, p. 26; *Girl Guiding: A Handbook for Brownies, Guides, Rangers and Guiders*, p. 34; Eileen Wade, *Twenty-One Years of Scouting*, p. 68; Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, Ch. 13.

114 Soloway, p. 140.

115 'Headquarters Bulletin 163', *The Brisbane Courier*, 25 May 1912, p. 5.

116 'Our Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 23 October 1909, p. 6.

117 Craig Stockings, 'Australia's boy soldiers: The army cadet movement', in C. Stockings & J. Connor, (eds), *Before the Anzac Dawn. A military history of Australia to 1915*, University of NSW Press, Sydney, 2013, p. 231.

118 Stockings, *Before the Anzac Dawn. A military history of Australia to 1915*, p. 252.

on to say the government should take into account that the Boy Scout curriculum did not include drilling or rifle shooting.¹¹⁹

Scout Groups throughout the country were interested in the scheme, not so much because of the militarism, but because both the Citizens Military Forces training and Scouts had similar developmental objectives of training boys in the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship and improving their moral and physical development. Following Baden-Powell's support of cadet schemes, Scout Groups in Queensland applied to the Government to have Scouts exempt from compulsory military training on the basis that their training schemes were complimentary, but this move failed.¹²⁰ Commenting on the junior cadet system of 1911, K. M. Grant, Secretary for Public Instruction in Queensland, said that the cadets' training in schools would be confined to physical training and elementary drill which would be compulsory, along with the non-compulsory components of miniature rifle shooting, swimming, running exercises, and first aid.¹²¹ There was still confusion concerning the position of the Scouts *vis-à-vis* the Cadets, but an article in *The Brisbane Courier* in January 1911, clarified the matter. It stated: 'The Scouts have not been recognised as part of the Defence Force: they have been organised purely on civil lines for a form of training which will be of great value to whatever military corps they now may enter'.¹²²

In Victoria, Scouting sought recognition of their role in the defence scheme by the Defence Department, with one Victorian Headquarters voice advocating that Scouts should replace the cadets,¹²³ but these moves also failed. The government was reluctant to incorporate a voluntary organisation into a compulsory one. Sally Marshall explains that many Scoutmasters took their request (to be included in the defence scheme) directly to Senator Pearce after Baden-Powell had spoken in support, asserting the complementary nature of the two schemes, but the government failed to be convinced.¹²⁴

119 'Cadets Annihilated', *The Brisbane Courier*, 11 March 1910, p. 5. However, Scouts took rifles to camp to practise marksmanship. See photo on p. 92.

120 Slaughter, p. 28.

121 Kenneth Grant, Queensland Parliamentary Papers 1913, Thirty-Fifth Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for 1911, p. 23.

122 'The Defence System', *The Brisbane Courier*, 10 January 1911, p. 5.

123 *The Argus*, 1 October 1910, p. 6.

124 Marshall, p. 43.

Disagreements among stakeholders on the direction that the Movement should take did not go away. They festered until in various parts of the world the Movement diverged, with disaffected and alienated leaders creating their own Boy Scout Associations.

Part 3: DIVERGENCE

There were four serious divergences within the first few years of the Boy Scout Movement's formation; the Vane rebellion in England in 1909, the secession in Queensland in 1910, the Victorian secession of 1912 and the most potentially serious of all, the Seton debacle that started in 1908 and continued through to 1917. Baden-Powell's influence could be felt in all of these, and though there was no direct intervention in Queensland, his fixation on obedience and loyalty was obvious in the action of the Queensland Executive, and his mishandling of the Vane rebellion 'assisted' the secession in Queensland.

In 1909, personality conflicts in London became untenable. Sir Francis Vane became London Commissioner to organise the London Council and to develop local committees with the intention to give some administrative direction to the local Scout Troops. However, the Manager, Archibald Kyle, undermined Vane at every turn. Kyle took a high-handed dictatorial approach to managing the Movement and alienated many Scoutmasters, who considered that the Scouting administration was too autocratic and too closely involved with military organisations.¹²⁵ Baden-Powell was still involved with the Territorials, a home defence force created by R. B. Haldane, the Secretary of State for War, and was happy to leave administrative work to others. However, Baden-Powell did not spell out sufficiently the duties of the various people he appointed, and he was not comfortable with dissension. Kyle threatened to resign if Baden-Powell did not sack Vane, but there were no specific charges to bring against him. Baden-Powell caved in to Kyle's threat and sacked Vane, because, he stated: 'of my want of confidence in your loyalty and not on account of reports as to your character'.¹²⁶

Vane then called a meeting of Scoutmasters in the London area to voice their concerns. The focus of the meeting was partly, as Springhall argues, of criticism of militarism

¹²⁵ Michael Foster, *Militarism and the Scout Movement*, The Scout History Association, London, 1999, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Letter, Baden-Powell to Vane, 15 December 1910. Copy held by author.

within the Movement,¹²⁷ but mostly on the matter of instituting a more democratic structure, rather than the autocratic hierarchy that prevailed. Sir Edmund Ellis sent an observer to the meeting and was disturbed enough to write to Baden-Powell. He suggested forming a London Council, adding: 'this is the only thing that will save the Movement from disaster ... [and] Kyle's unpopularity has much to do with it'.¹²⁸ His efforts were ineffectual: Baden-Powell sacked Vane.

The press were scathing of Baden-Powell and his shabby treatment of Vane. The *Daily News* trumpeted: 'Scouts' Revolt: Lively protest against one-man rule',¹²⁹ and the *Daily Express* commented: 'Split in the Boy Scout Camp – Violent attacks on General Baden-Powell'.¹³⁰ Vane went on to found the British Boy Scouts, into which he contributed much of his time and a lot of his own money; so much so that he was declared bankrupt in 1912, having 'failed to appear [in court], and [having] failed to lodge a statement of his affairs'.¹³¹

In Queensland, Scouting was still very much in its infancy. The Council of Control were just beginning to come to terms with the rapid spread of the Movement around the State and while all policy and direction came from London, Officers in Queensland were more concerned with the day to day programs and activities. In April 1910, independent of notification to or from London, the Central Executive Committee of the Queensland League of Boy Scouts decided to increase its size by nine members, four of whom were to be Scoutmasters, and while Scoutmasters could nominate, the final selection would lie with the Executive.¹³² Some saw this as an undesirable shift in the locus of control from the wider movement to the Executive, which created dissatisfaction at grass roots level.

At around the same time Naoum Coungeua, a Queen Street businessman donated £50 to the Scout Troops. At a meeting held on Wednesday 2 March 1910, Acting Secretary Holland reported he had received an invitation to attend a meeting at Mr Coungeau's

127 Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?' p. 935.

128 Letter, Ellis to Baden-Powell, 4 December 1909, TC66, SAA.

129 *Daily News*, 4 December 1909, n.p.

130 *Daily Express*, 4 December 1909, n.p.

131 *The Times*, 8 August 1912, p. 2.

132 Minutes, Council of Control, 8 February 1910, p. 7

café on Thursday (3 March), to ‘discuss ways of disposing of £50 amongst the Boy Scouts’. At this time, there were seventeen Scout Troops in the Brisbane metropolitan area, but there was no indication of the method of proportioning the donation.¹³³ There is also no mention if Holland attended the meeting at Coungeau’s Café; however, the Central Executive Committee decided that in the event that the invitation was to all Scout Masters, they (the Scout Masters) be informed they should not attend. However, nine of these Scout Masters ignored the Central Executive Committee’s directive and called a meeting on 17 May to decide how to distribute the funds. Additionally, several Scoutmasters saw this as an avenue to express their growing grievances towards the Central Executive Committee and drew up a resolution that ‘Scoutmasters should have adequate representation and that these representatives be elected by themselves’.¹³⁴ There was however, a raft of other issues concerning the Executive, including differences about the amount of drilling and the discipline requirements of young boys and the dissidents threatened to walk out en masse if their demands were rejected.¹³⁵

The *Brisbane Courier* reported the Executive’s view that had the donation been made — or was prepared to be made — through the Council of Control, then the matter could easily have been resolved.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the dissidents remained intractable, so the Central Executive Committee in turn, demanding loyalty, rejected the dissidents’ demands in their entirety. With both sides adopting confrontation rather than conciliation, the matter was a foregone conclusion; the dissidents seceded. The dissidents quickly set up their own organisation and aligned themselves with the British Boy Scouts set up by Sir Francis Vane. They deliberately devolved authority downwards to Troop level, although they did elect a Board of Control. However, *The Brisbane Courier* tried to centre itself as the cause of the problem stating that it was their selection as the official organ of the Boy Scouts that ‘kindled a spirit of animosity so bitter that it would, if possible, destroy the movement because it could not influence it’.¹³⁷ Not only is that incorrect, the trigger being the Executive’s refusal to consider the dissidents’ demands, but *The Brisbane Courier* had no trouble acting as the appointed voice of the Queensland League of Boy Scouts and the British Boy Scouts. They carried extensive reports on Saturday 23 July 1910 from Major Moon, the Director-in-Chief of the British

¹³³ Minutes, Special Meeting of Central Executive Committee, 2 March 1910, p. 1.

¹³⁴ Minutes of Scoutmaster’s Meeting, 17 May 1910, p. 2.

¹³⁵ *The Daily Mail*, 29 May 1910, p. 2.

¹³⁶ *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1910, pp. 5-6.

¹³⁷ *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1910, pp. 5-6.

Boy Scouts, and several Scoutmasters.¹³⁸ Although the British Boy Scouts continued successfully in Queensland until 1921, the dissension did cause the Central Executive Committee of the League to modify their Committee election procedures.¹³⁹

While the secession caused angst among some leaders, reports indicate that the boys accepted this change. When (then) Scout Les Slaughter of No. 1 Brisbane Troop asked what it all meant, his friend Roy Ferguson explained that from then on they would be known as the No. 1 Kangaroo Point Troop.¹⁴⁰ Reports of the day indicate that at Troop level both the League of Baden-Powell Scouts, and the Queensland British Boy Scouts carried on their activities seemingly uninterrupted. The 1st Nundah Troop of the Queensland British Boy Scouts appointed Scouts Thain, Williams, and Heslop as Sergeants. Reports state: 'the boys have got well into their drill, and are making good progress', while Staff Sergeant Taylor of the 1st Bulimba Troop 'has been doing some road sketching, which has been very credible'.¹⁴¹ The League of Baden-Powell Troops meanwhile, had Patrol Leader Crowther and Scout O'Sullivan of the 1st Toowong Troop carry dispatches to the Indooroopilly Railway Station, and Patrol Leader Kirkwood of the Bowen Hill Troop participated in stave fencing, despatch carrying and other games.¹⁴² More importantly however, is the fact that both organisations used the same methodology, the same games and activities, the same test and badge work. The difference lay in the adults' perception of power.

The Vane rebellion in England began with personality conflicts, and concluded with Baden-Powell forcing Vane's resignation. A similar situation arose in Brisbane between Benjamin Patterson and Charles Snow. Patterson, a surveyor with the Mount Morgan Mine was a Boys Brigade Leader and saw benefit in his Brigade pursuing 'scouting' activities. His appointment as a Staff Scoutmaster received approval at the Central Executive Committee meeting of 25 October 1910,¹⁴³ and he wrote the following month

138 *The Brisbane Courier*, 23 July 1910, p. 14.

139 *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1910, pp. 5-6. There is no record of the fate of the £50 donation, however in a twist of irony, the Association in 1937 received a 'life-saving' legacy of £876 from the Coungeau Estate. Further, irrespective of changes to the membership of the State Committee, the Executive arranged their affairs in order to maintain strict control on the Executive's structure and voting procedures. (See Chapter 3).

140 Slaughter, p. 20.

141 'British Boy Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 23 July 1910, p. 14.

142 'Our Scouts', *The Brisbane Courier*, 30 July 1910, p. 14; 'British Boy Scouts', 6 August 1910, p. 14.

143 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 25 October 1910, p. 2.

enquiring if the Boys' Brigade in Mt Morgan could affiliate with the Scouts. Snow replied that they could not, but he would be pleased to register them as Boy Scouts.¹⁴⁴ Patterson did this. He believed that 'scouting activities' could apply to any organisation as Baden-Powell originally envisaged in his pamphlet, *Boy Scouts: Summary of a scheme*.¹⁴⁵ Patterson's 'Blue Boy Scouts' earned a reputation as a first class Group. Snow commented: 'Nearly every available boy for seven years past in that town [Mt Morgan] has been connected in some way with the movement, the troops are mainly officered by old Scouts, and the results in improved standard[s] of efficiency of the youth of the place are most marked'.¹⁴⁶

In 1921, Patterson received the highest accolade for Scout leadership: the 'Silver Wolf'.¹⁴⁷ However, he became disenchanted with the way the Central Executive Committee were directing the Movement, complaining that 'it came more and more to regard scouting as its own peculiar preserve, the more so in the country because there were excellent reasons for controlling all scouting activities everywhere'. After a period of absence as a Master at Ipswich Boys Grammar School, Patterson returned to Mt Morgan in 1934 to find that 'a clerk in the Rockhampton [Scout] office, and who knew next to nothing about our troop ... [had] full power to "wipe" our way of working'. Patterson wrote to Snow asking to be allowed to retain his (Patterson's) methods, citing his 25 years association with the Movement and his Silver Wolf Award, but according to Patterson, he received no replies to two letters, and he eventually advised Snow that the '4th Mt Morgan Troop would carry on in future as an independent organisation'. According to Patterson, Snow 'was very annoyed with us for he thought he was in a position to take a high hand with us'.¹⁴⁸

In Victoria, there was a strong national political consciousness evidenced by the creation of the Australian Army, Navy, and Military College. This consciousness occurred also in the arguments taking place within the Scout Movement. While the debate trended around the peaceful or militaristic purpose of the organisation, there was an underlying

144 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 15 November 1910, p. 2.

145 Wade, *Twenty-One Years of Scouting*, p. 17.

146 Report, Chief Scoutmaster Snow to State Council, 3 August 1917, p. 3. They were known as the 'Blue Boy Scouts' because they wore a modified Boys Brigade uniform comprising blue shirts and shorts, with Scout scarf and hat.

147 Fones, p. 215.

148 Letter, Ben Patterson to R. McEwan, 20 October 1949, pp. 2-5.

Australian nationalism within the arguments. Donald Macdonald was the *Argus* correspondent for Scouting and he saw an Australian purpose to the Movement rather than a British one. Commenting on that purpose, he wrote: 'Behind it is the great national aim, which should and will animate young Australians. The desire to fit themselves for that patriotic duty, to have lots of good fun and to improve their minds and their bodies'.¹⁴⁹

Baden-Powell, however, did not believe that Scouting in the Colonies was as efficient as in England. Commenting on an inspection he carried out, he said: 'they had not the usual Scouts' way of parading for inspection', although he was pleased with the subservient demeanour of the ordinary Scout: 'their quick obedience to orders and their steadiness and silence in the ranks ... they were a well-disciplined lot'.¹⁵⁰ Following a visit to England in 1910, Queensland Legislative Councillor and Committee member Andrew Thynne, thought quite differently. He considered the Australian boys 'in a fair way ... far out-class[ed] their English comrades'.¹⁵¹

As it did in England, factions arose in Victoria concerning the purpose and development of Scouting, with the split centring again partly on the pacifist/militarist debate as Tim Jeal argues,¹⁵² but also on the governance of the organisation. The Imperial Boy Scouts (Baden-Powell's) Victoria, and the (independent) Imperial Boy Scouts, Victorian Section, both claimed to have official recognition from, and be loyal to, Imperial Headquarters, and both groups envisaged a cordial reception during Baden-Powell's visit in June 1912. Chief Scout Master Eyril Lister believed that the invitation was open to both factions after Baden-Powell commented: 'As regards the program of inspection, I am delighted to see anything your scoutmasters show me (except military parades or drills)'.¹⁵³

Baden-Powell inspected only the Imperial Boy Scouts (Baden-Powell's) Victoria group. The reaction in Australia was muted; *The Argus* merely reporting that it was 'unfortunate that again on this occasion the split which took place in the scout ranks was

149 *The Argus*, 11 May 1909, p. 7.

150 *The Argus*, 27 June 1912, p. 10.

151 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 25 October 1910, p. 1.

152 Jeal, p. 448.

153 *The Argus*, 28 May 1912, p. 9.

again brought out in public notice',¹⁵⁴ however the rival section was adamant that they would proceed independently in view of the snub by Baden-Powell. Following the visit and a report by Baden-Powell to the Victorian Branch, concerning the need for district autonomy,¹⁵⁵ 'Scout', in a letter to *The Argus*, commented that the split was 'not the result of personal jealousy, but the inevitable breach between a policy of autocratic, personal and central government and that of local government and district autonomy'.¹⁵⁶ True district autonomy was never to eventuate. However, the most potentially damaging altercation centred on 'ownership' of the Movement; it could have closed down Baden-Powell's organisation overnight and landed the man himself in serious legal difficulty. Matthew Laird poses the question, 'Did Robert Baden-Powell mastermind the Boy Scout Movement? Or was it a Canadian?'¹⁵⁷

Laird is referring to Ernest Thompson Seton, who founded the Woodcraft Indian Movement in America, based on the lifestyle of the North American Indian. In 1902, Seton published *The Birch-Bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians*, in which he claimed that the first aim of education is 'character building, for manhood is not scholarship ... and we would make the outdoor the real life, the indoor the incident, reversing the present way'.¹⁵⁸ As mentioned previously, Seton and Baden-Powell met in 1906 and agreed to collaborate on certain aspects; Baden-Powell's Boy Scout scheme had not at that time commenced, but he was impressed with the structure and organisation of Seton's Woodcraft Indians. However, on reading *Scouting for Boys* when first published in 1908, Seton was angry to discover that Baden-Powell had plagiarised *the Birch-Bark Roll*. He wrote saying, 'Next, you have taken my games ... made unimportant alterations in them, changing their names in most cases, and giving them as though they were yours in spite of the fact that these were invented slowly, developed in the course of practice, and copyrighted by myself'.¹⁵⁹ Kenneth Orr is incorrect when he states that Baden-Powell 'saw something of the use of North American Indian symbols and rites in the Woodcraft Indian Movement ... but seems to have fought shy of making use of these in

154 *The Argus*, 17 June 1912, p. 11.

155 *The Argus*, 28 November 1912, p. 10.

156 *The Argus*, 25 November 1912, p. 10.

157 Laird & White, p. 29.

158 Ernest Thompson Seton, *The birch-bark roll of the Woodcraft Indians, containing their constitution, laws, games and deeds*, Doubleday, New York, 1907, p. 6. Seton's book was first published by the Curtis Publishing Company in 1902, but the 1907 edition is the most cited authority.

159 Laird and White, p. 31.

the Boy Scout section in England'.¹⁶⁰ That Baden-Powell borrowed heavily from Seton's work is beyond denial; 'the personal decoration for achievement and no competitive honours ... [is] something to think about, and something to enjoy in the woods ... with a view always to character building, for manhood not scholarship is the first aim of education'.¹⁶¹ Proficiency tests and games came directly from the *Birch Bark Roll* and placed in *Scouting for Boys*. In the *Birch Bark Roll*, twenty-four honours count as a Sachem; In *Scouting for Boys* twenty-four proficiency badges count as a Silver Wolf. Games simply had their names changed; 'Spearing the Great Sturgeon' became 'A Whale Hunt', and 'Pole Star' became 'Find the North'.¹⁶²

Having incorporated his own Woodcraft movement into the Scout scheme in America, Seton became their Chief Scout, but disagreements mounted. By 1914, he was in open breach of the organisation and in 1915 quietly removed from the movement by the American Scout Council.¹⁶³ Seton set up his own organisation, the United States Boy Scouts, arguing through the *New York Times*: 'I am not in sympathy with the present trend of the Boy Scout Movement: second I think I have a national message to deliver: and third I can deliver that message through the Woodcraft League'.¹⁶⁴ The Boy Scouts of America instituted legal action against Seton. Seton's defence was that his Boy Scout scheme was running in both America and England prior to Baden-Powell's scheme and that Baden-Powell had plagiarised elements of his Woodcraft scheme. He sought the court's recognition of his claim. The stakes were huge. If the Boy Scouts of America lost, then Baden-Powell would lose everything, and in a telling comment, Tim Jeal says, 'Baden-Powell therefore decided to leave nothing to chance in his testimony. Too much was at stake for the truth to be told'.¹⁶⁵ On 24 May 1918 Baden-Powell swore an affidavit at the American Consulate in London, titled 'Deposition as to the Origins of the Scout Movement', to support the case of the Boy Scouts of America against the United States Boy Scouts.¹⁶⁶

160 Kenneth Orr, 'Moral Training in the Boy Scout Movement', *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 1963, p. 300.

161 Seton, *The birch-bark roll of the Woodcraft Indians, containing their constitution, laws, games and deeds*, pp. 4-5. Baden-Powell reworded these ideas in many of his publications.

162 Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys*, 1908, pp. 183, 189.

163 Brian Morris, 'Ernest Thompson Seton and the Origins of the Woodcraft Movement', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1970, p. 187.

164 'West Says Seton is not a Patriot', *The New York Times*, 7 December 1915, n.p.

165 Jeal, p. 581.

166 Baden-Powell, Deposition, 24 May 1918. Original in BSA Archive; excerpts of the third, fourth and seventh interrogatories in Author's possession.

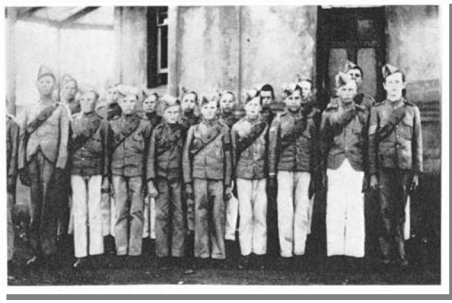


Figure 6. Mafeking Cadet Corps



Figure 7. Lord Edward Cecil and Boy Scout in Mafeking¹⁶⁷

Statements in Baden-Powell's affidavit are unfortunately untruthful. He said in the third interrogatory: 'During the South African War, 1899-1900, Major Lord Edward Cecil, my Chief Staff Officer, organized the boys of Mafeking as a corps for general utility on Scout lines rather than those of Cadets and the experiment was an entire success'. If Baden-Powell stated this deliberately, as argued by Jeal, then such action constitutes perjury.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, in Baden-Powell's account of Mafeking, dated some eleven years prior, he says Lord Cecil organised a cadet corps; the word 'scout' gets no mention. Although, as mentioned previously, there was a Cadet Corps in Mafeking, it does not rate a mention in Baden-Powell's official report of 1901; the only reference to boys is to native boys who came into Mafeking after the burning of their village.¹⁶⁹ Baden-Powell swore in his affidavit that the badge system originated in the South African Constabulary, but later admitted that Seton's designs were his inspiration.¹⁷⁰ However, Seton appeared to have been unaware that the term 'boy scout' had not originated with Baden-Powell; that Baden-Powell had borrowed the term from popular boys' magazines, which is surprising, since such knowledge could have been extremely damaging not only to the Boy Scouts of America, but also to Baden-Powell personally.¹⁷¹ In the end, Baden-Powell's deposition was not needed; the Supreme Court of New York State handed down its decision on 15 December 1917, requiring Seton to remove the word 'scout' from his organisation and to hand over his list of subscribers.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys*, 1924, p. 20.

¹⁶⁸ Letter, E. K. Wade on behalf of Baden-Powell to L. A. C. Davis, 8 July 1927, SAA.

¹⁶⁹ Robert Baden-Powell, 'Major-General Baden-Powell's official report on the Siege of Mafeking', *The London Gazette*, London, Published by Authority, no. 27282, 1901, p. 896. (Hereafter *Official Report*).

¹⁷⁰ Robert Baden-Powell "How the Scouts' Badges originated", unpublished MS, TC21, SAA.

¹⁷¹ Jeal, p. 581.

¹⁷² 'Boy Scouts Win in Court', *The New York Times*, 16 December 1917. n.p.

The term ‘Boy Scout’ had appeared in literature since 1899 appearing first in the *New Buffalo Bill Library*, then in the *True Blue War Library*, both published by Aldine Publishing. Between 1900 and 1905, the magazine ran sixty-four stories with titles such as *The Boy Scout’s Valorous Charge* (19 February 1900), *The Boy Scout and the Gun Runners* (5 August 1901), and *The Boy Scout in the Far East* (16 April 1904).¹⁷³ One particular title, *The Boy Scout Joins B-P’s Police* dated 31 December 1900 is particularly significant, as it is a reference to the South African Constabulary, which Baden-Powell commanded at the end of 1900. Following criticism that Baden-Powell borrowed the term from boys’ magazines, he wrote to the Department of Information informing them: ‘I had never heard the term “Boy Scouts” before I applied it to boy training in Britain in 1907’.¹⁷⁴ Baden-Powell was definitely aware of the term ‘boy scout’ as early as 1900, and even though he was considering other nomenclature, Pearson convinced him the term ‘Boy Scout’ was the best option.¹⁷⁵ It is worth noting also, that Baden-Powell first used and described the term ‘woodcraft’ in the 1890s, not in the English sense of the ‘hunt’ or forestry skills, but in a more ‘scouting’ sense of ‘the art of noticing the smallest detail and connecting their meanings’.¹⁷⁶

These dissensions and divergences had several consequences for the Boy Scout Movement in various parts of the world. The first was that Baden-Powell became more obsessive in his desire to maintain personal control — worldwide — of the Movement. He knew that if true democracy ever came to the Movement, he could be outvoted at any stage, thus he moved to put in place an unelected controlling body made up of invited men of public standing, and who would have time to meet only once a year. This body would elect a committee comprising people that Baden-Powell had already selected. This committee would be chaired by Baden-Powell and have the power to appoint and recall Commissioners’ warrants worldwide. He made this quite plain in a memorandum to the Committee, stating: ‘the function of headquarters is merely to define principles’.¹⁷⁷

173 Foster, *The Use of the Name Boy Scouts, 1899-1906, in Boys Literature*. Scout History Association, London, 1996, p. 1.

174 Letter to the Secretary of Scout Press, 4 July 1916, BSAA.

175 Letter C. Arthur Pearson to Baden-Powell, 10 September 1907, BSAA, R11.

176 Robert Baden-Powell, *Matabele Campaign*, Methuen & Co, London, 1896, p. 49.

177 Memo on Function of Headquarters, 1934, TC32, SAA.

Second, in London, the loss of the Vane supporters was a serious blow to the resources and morale of the Movement in England and Baden-Powell, in a move to heal the rift and taking no blame on himself, acknowledged that the dissidents ‘had been frequently snubbed by Headquarters’, blaming De Burgh, Ellis and Kyle for their shabby treatment.¹⁷⁸

A third, and probably the most significant consequence was that Baden-Powell believed that only he could lead the Boy Scout Movement if it was to reach its full potential. He resigned from the army on 7 May 1910 to take up personal, full-time control of the Movement, and though this did not stop disagreements and secessions, it did allow Baden-Powell to impose his own philosophy, ideology and values on what he considered was *his* organisation.¹⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

Scholars have debated the purpose and intent of the Scout Movement since its formation. Identifying a ‘definitive purpose’ or ‘precise intent’ is fraught with difficulty given the complexity of historical interpretation. Regardless of the control Baden-Powell tried to exert on the organisation and management of the movement, and the influence he used to attract boys to join, questions concerning its purpose and direction arose. These questions involved the decision-making processes in England, Queensland and the other states of Australia, and Canada and America. In Australia, Scouting sprang up almost spontaneously, bringing its own challenges of organisation and control, and although the individual state organisations faced similar challenges, they approached them from different viewpoints, often with mixed success.

Unused to having his orders questioned, Baden-Powell found it necessary to intervene in the appointment and withdrawal of the Warrants of Commissioners whom he believed were disloyal to him or the Movement. Another question that loomed large revolved around two distinct concepts; Scouting as a ‘peace movement’ and Scouting as a militarist organisation. Notwithstanding that, Baden-Powell wrote extensively on both pacifism and militarism, and he took conflicting positions, depending on his audience.

¹⁷⁸ Robert Baden-Powell, Inspection Order Book, 11 March 1911, British Library, Ad Ms 50255a BL.
¹⁷⁹ Jeal, p. 424.

There are two considerations within each of the pacifist and militarist positions. The first of these posits the altruistic argument that inculcation of traits of honesty, obedience, and trustworthiness, was an end in itself; there were no ulterior motives; that whatever path in life the boy followed was acceptable. The ‘altruists’ accept that a boy would eventually become master of his own destiny and that destiny would be guided by the tenets of the Scout Promise and Law. The second position acknowledges the same altruistic nature of the programs and activities, however this position argues that there was a hidden agenda of social control; of making the boy compliant, subservient, non-questioning of authority, and accepting one’s place in society without question or complaint. These boys would take up positions in commerce and industry initially as simple employees; not rising in the ‘ranks’ until they could be trusted. This argument acknowledges that social and economic benefits would accrue to the Empire, as these boys became men and took up positions of responsibility and authority in politics, commerce, and industry.

As has been argued, the khaki uniform, broad brimmed hat, troop bugler, and badges of rank, had distinct military overtones, and a large segment of society saw the Boy Scouts as potential military material. One school of thought considered that they would be junior cadets; if not in name then certainly by intent and action. In Queensland and England there was a move supported by several influential politicians, to incorporate all youth groups into a compulsory cadet scheme. The move failed in England although scouts and guides there did do manoeuvres with the Territorials (Home defence force) just prior to and in the early days of World War I. The second school of militaristic thought argues that scouts existed specifically as a military reserve, with the older ones liable for active duty. This argument is the least supportable and is diametrically opposite Baden-Powell’s constant declarations of scouting as movement for peace. The paradox is that scouting’s pedagogy of fitting youth with character traits of loyalty and obedience, also fitted him with powers of observation and skills in first aid, signalling, marksmanship, and swimming — all essential skills for an efficient soldier.

In 1911, Australia introduced a compulsory military training scheme, and Baden-Powell used his influence (unsuccessfully) to involve the Boy Scouts in their programs. While formal approaches to the Defence Department in Australia failed, individual Scout Groups took it upon themselves to undertake training in signalling, first aid and dispatch

riding should the need arise. Baden-Powell was not enamoured of formal academic education; he believed that it lacked training in character, and while the Education Sector in England reciprocated a similar disfavour, in Queensland, the Department of Public Instruction, recognised the positive aspects of Boy Scouts and permitted schools to become involved.

As differing points of view became deeply entrenched and factions refused to compromise, so divergence in the form of Scout Groups seceding from the original model became inevitable. Baden-Powell appointed to management only those people who agreed with his views on how the organisation should operate. The high-handed and autocratic style of J. A. Kyle and Sir Edmond Ellis created widespread dissatisfaction throughout London, leading eventually to Sir Francis Vane setting up the British Boy Scouts. Following their own respective breaks with Baden-Powell in 1910 and 1912 respectively, the secessionist Scout Groups in Queensland and Victoria affiliated themselves with Vane's British Boy Scouts.

The Seton debacle was in all probability inevitable, as Baden-Powell had plagiarised many elements of Seton's *Birchbark Roll*. However, given Seton's on-going dispute with Boy Scouts of America, which did not involve Baden-Powell initially, the subsequent legal action was unavoidable. Baden-Powell's deposition on the origins of the Boy Scout Movement contained untruths that could have caused serious problems for the Boy Scout Movement in England and America and for Baden-Powell personally, however, the court action was settled before the deposition was finalised. The decade following the introduction of the Boy Scouts was tumultuous for a variety of reasons; a major change of life-style for Baden-Powell; internal power struggles resulting in secession Scout Groups in England, Australia and America, and the First World War. The ensuing decades would see Scouting undergo a significant shift in philosophy, ideology, and direction, with Baden-Powell determined to influence those shifts and retain control of *his* organisation.

CHAPTER 3

A COMING OF AGE: THE EMPIRE, THE EXECUTIVE, ENGAGEMENT

INTRODUCTION

In 1926, Baden-Powell stated:

My own belief is that we are seeing only the beginning of the Empire coming into its full strength as a beneficent organisation for ensuring peace in the world. So long as [the Dominions and Colonies] ... still look to the King as their joint head ... they will be a commonwealth of federal nations distributed over every part of the globe and having a joint power such as never before existed in history.¹

Baden-Powell applied his vision of an all-encompassing powerful Empire prosecuting the Imperial imperative to position the Scout Movement at the centre of social changes that were occurring worldwide, and also in his attempts to influence those changes. In the aftermath of World War I, the ideology of Scouting moved from imperial to international, and Baden-Powell firmly believed that the imperial would influence, if not control, the international. The Empire's imperative was always that Britain was the natural leader with a duty to ensure her overseas possessions were given — and closely followed — the imperial lead, even to the extent of 'seeding' the Dominions and Colonies with suitably qualified Boy Scout immigrants.

During this period, the Central Executive Committee of the Queensland Council of Control ensured that control was closely coordinated and contained within its ranks. The way the Central Executive Committee and the larger Council of Control used its influence is a reflection of the manner and values of Baden-Powell and Imperial Headquarters. The Central Executive Committee initially gave itself a quasi-legal status in order to direct the voting structure of the Council, to control Office Bearer positions, and to ensure that expenditure was contained within rigid guidelines. This section examines the complex internal structure of the Council of Control, its power struggles, and its financial dealings.

¹ Baden-Powell, 'Duty to the King', *Outlook*, August 1926.

In addition to managing its internal and financial affairs, the Council of Control needed to engage with the wider community to promote the Movement and garner support for its activities. The manner in which the Council of Control conducted its affairs and the strategies employed in engaging with its membership, potential membership, and community institutions, were both selective and exclusive, and in the medium term limited the expansion of the Movement.

PART 1: THE EMPIRE

The years following World War I were formative years for the Movement. ‘The days are long over when Scouting was looked upon as a useful game for keeping English boys out of mischief’.² Scouting was embarking on a diverse path of which imperialism was a cornerstone. Baden-Powell considered that the fostering of patriotic imperialism in the Dominions in the form of nationalism would see, as Scott Johnston says, the Dominions welcomed into the fold of Empire, rather than being controlled by it. On the other hand, the non-white colonies could expect chauvinistic imperialism, based on ‘asserting influence over others through a belief in one’s superiority’.³ However, a form of British arrogance infused Baden-Powell’s social imperialist beliefs. He considered the ‘overseas boy generally more forward and self-reliant for his age than the English boy ... [but] he is in greater need of some restraining force and sense of duty’,⁴ achievable he said, by inculcating good citizenship through character training, and being shown the way by a (superior) British Scout. Australian Scouts should ‘seek out Scouting visitors and immigrants who had a thorough knowledge of Scouting and learn from them’.⁵

Baden-Powell was convinced that for the Empire to retain its pre-eminent international standing, then bonds between the Dominions and the Mother Country required strengthening. This could be achieved through the Boy Scout Movement, by inculcating the ethos of a Public School education in the youth of the colonies, which would produce a deeply embedded and sustained loyalty to ‘His Majesty’s dominions, on which the sun never sets’.⁶ He worked incessantly at bolstering the Empire; such that, as mentioned

² Baden-Powell, ‘International Scouting’, *Outlook*, September 1931.

³ Johnston, p. 25.

⁴ John Wilson, *Scouting Around the World*, Blandford Press, London, 1960, p. 18.

⁵ Marshall, p. 96.

⁶ John Wilson, *Noctes Ambrosianae*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1855, p. 258.

above, it would become a global power such as had ‘never before existed in history’. ‘If we can get that sense of character and sense of brotherhood instilled into all our boys at home and in the British Dominions overseas, we shall forge a stronger link to that which at present holds the empire together’, he said.⁷ Part of this process, he believed, could be achieved by sending Scout migrants to the Dominions and Colonies; a scheme of populating the imperial frontier; a concept that sat comfortably within the ideological vision of a strong Empire fostering ‘global goodwill and understanding’.⁸ The government in Whitehall had similar ideas. As Richard Voeltz says: ‘no consideration was greater than the social imperialist tinged doctrine of migration. Culture and blood bound Britain and the Empire together’.⁹

This ambitious program came not from grass-roots level; but from Baden-Powell himself, who was convinced that young boys would be better off in the Dominions than their home country. He believed that the rugged open-air life of the frontier would be far preferable to the smog-laden, crowded unemployment in working class areas of Britain. Intrinsic to the scheme was Baden-Powell’s long held myth of adventure in the backwoods of distant frontiers. A key attribute of the late Victorian era male was his concept and identity of masculinity, which involved playing the greatest game of all, expanding the Empire. It was these rugged men who set the example, taking the risks while their lesser brothers stayed at home, and Scouts who emigrated were but following in their footsteps and must therefore be cast in the same mould, the next generation of frontiersmen. Such Scouts would demonstrate a life with meaning, exemplifying the tenets of the scout Law and Promise of duty, loyalty, obedience, and grit and determination in the face of adversity and hardship. ‘Go forward to a MAN’S life, helping to make our great Empire stronger and mightier yet’, Baden-Powell advised.¹⁰

The scheme was quite simple; local farmers would take on the boys as apprentices and train them for the period. The farmer would act *in loco parentis*, and the Scout Association would attend to ‘after hours’ assistance; locating a local Scout Group for the boy to join, and attending to their overall welfare.¹¹ Boys had the choice of migrating

7 Baden-Powell, ‘Where Drill Fails’, *Outlook*, January 1914.

8 Johnston, p. 90.

9 Voeltz, *The British Boy Scout Migration Plan*, p. 143.

10 Baden-Powell, article for *The Scouter*, undated (but 1922 or 1923), TC27, SAA. (Baden-Powell’s capitals).

11 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 19 August 1925, p. 4.

to Australia, New Zealand, or Canada, with Australia eventually becoming the main recipient. The Commissioner for Scouts in New South Wales, A. D. Johnston, received a letter early in 1922 informing him that personnel at the Imperial Office 'were endeavouring, in conjunction with Australia House, to arrange for scout parties to migrate to Australia'. Johnston added that the Association 'hoped to arrange for a steady flow of boy scout emigrants to Australia, 5000 every year being the objective'.¹² Imperial Headquarters had appointed Sir Alfred Pickford as Commissioner for Overseas Scouts and Emigration, and he expended a great deal of effort in Britain and the Dominions publicising the idea.

The Australian Federal Government agreed to advance £12 per head, but required the Association to find £16 and to furnish the boy with a £10 loan.¹³ This placed a significant strain on the Association's resources; Chief Commissioner Snow was pleased to note 'the appointment of Captain Collum of the New Settlers' League of Queensland, as Lone Scoutmaster to keep in touch with all Scouts migrating to this state'.¹⁴ In 1927 some 10,000 special immigration 'wall cards' were supplied to every Scout Group in the British Isles, and lectures on the Scout Migration Scheme were given in all major cities. Additionally, 776 letters of introduction to Ports of Call, and 930 letters of introduction were forwarded to the Dominions. In return, Imperial Headquarters received 8108 enquiries.¹⁵

While the Boy Scout Movement promoted equality, ('A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout no matter what social class the other belongs') the scheme itself was essentially exclusive. The Queensland Government was happy to endorse the scheme, noting that England will 'only send boys who are likely to make a success of the venture'.¹⁶ Of the 124 Scout Farm Learner migrants who arrived in Queensland in 1929, only one appeared dissatisfied; most reporting a positive experience. 'I could not wish for a better mistress', one related.¹⁷ However, the take up rate in Queensland overall was poor. Surviving records disclose 124 arrivals up to 1929, but in 1930 it is reported that '62 have arrived from overseas during the year [and he] has 80 boys on his

12 'Boy Scouts: Immigration Scheme', *The Brisbane Courier*, 9 January 1922, p. 4.

13 Marshall, p. 86.

14 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 10 August 1926, p. 5.

15 Voeltz, *The British Boy Scout Migration Plan*, p. 148.

16 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 20 August 1923, p. 9.

17 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1929, p. 2.

active list'.¹⁸ No mention is made of the discrepancy in the numbers, although an oblique hint of dissatisfaction occurs in 1932. Frank Isley quotes a letter from one boy expressing satisfaction: '[I] once again joined the good brotherhood of Scouts'. Isley's section of the Report concludes with, 'All boy immigrants are evidently not discontented'.¹⁹ There was however sufficient discontent to cause comment.

Sir George Fairburn, President of the Big Brother Movement²⁰ said that 'misrepresentation abroad had led to 73 boys being recalled to their homes by their parents', and attributed the misrepresentation to parental ignorance.²¹ Baden-Powell must bear some of the responsibility for that situation, having written an article in 1930 titled 'Empire Ignorance', in which he laid such blame squarely at the feet of the parents for not knowing the conditions and opportunities available in the Dominions.²² He exhorted boys to migrate; 'Lucky beggars you fellows are to be going to the great country that awaits you overseas [and] I wonder if I may also say, lucky country to get such fellows for her future men. I hope so!'²³ Even with such fulsome encouragement from a very famous man, and notwithstanding the oversimplified description of the scheme, the take up was lukewarm at best.

Canada faced a similar situation. James Spence of the Canadian Official News Bureau wrote to Baden-Powell urging him to increase his efforts at migration:

As you know, the Dominions generally and Canada in particular are anxious to inaugurate a substantial flow of sound lads from the Old Country, but according to our own experience ... there is a singular reluctance on the part of boys generally to take advantage of the unique opportunities which present themselves.²⁴

18 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1929, p. 2. The person responsible for migrant Scouts in Queensland was Executive Member Frank Isley.

19 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1932, pp. 3-4.

20 Sir George Fairbairn was a pastoralist and Member of the Legislative Assembly. He was active in a number of businesses and community groups including the Big Brother Movement. Michael D. De B. Collins Persse, 'Fairbairn, Sir George (1855-1943)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 8. (MUP), 1981.

21 'Boys recalled: ignorance of Parents', *The Brisbane Courier*, 1 September 1931, p. 13.

22 Robert Baden-Powell, 'Empire Ignorance', draft article, 1930, TC27, SAA,

23 Robert Baden-Powell, letter to Scouts migrating overseas, December 1928, TC27, SAA.

24 Letter, James Spence to Baden-Powell, 16 February 1929, TC27, SAA.

Baden-Powell put great effort in trying to make the scheme succeed, and although there were many demands on his time to serve on various committees, he generally declined such invitations. He did however, represent the Boy Scouts in the Big Brother Movement, serving alongside the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Stradbroke, and Sir Granville Ryrie, the High Commissioner for Australia, among others.²⁵

There were many youth migration schemes put in place after World War I, and the Boy Scout Migration Scheme and the Big Brother Movement were both prominent in Australia, with both having much in common. Richard Linton commenced the Big Brother Movement with the aim of looking after the welfare of the boy immigrant after his arrival in Australia. Linton proposed that an Australian 'Big Brother' would care for his 'Little Brother' until the lad was placed in employment, and remain in touch thereafter.²⁶ However, Geoffrey Sherington argues that there was a classist and racist base to both the Big Brother Movement and the Boy Scout Migration Scheme. Linton is reported as saying: 'it is essential for the future success of the Movement ... that boys of high standard, morally, physically, and of education ... should only be sent under our auspices',²⁷ just as the Victorian Scout Branch had suggested within their own scheme.

There were also political implications in both schemes. Many youth immigration schemes targeted the working class, and viewed as a means of 'saving' youth from overcrowded accommodation, unemployment, and unhealthy lifestyles, while solving the labour crisis in the Dominions.²⁸ Captain Marshall Wood, assistant to Bankes Amery, the British Government Representative in Australia, told officials that the aim of the Big Brother Movement was to counteract the effects of working class migration which would serve only to strengthen the Australian Labour Party, a fact 'which should not be lost from an Empire point of view'.²⁹

The Big Brother magazine, *New Australian*, espoused the racial imperialist ideology of the day. Such articles as, 'Public Schools and the Empire — Great Institutions are Training Grounds for Britain's Imperial Leaders — Secret of the Empire's Solidity' by

25 'Big Brother Movement', *The Argus*, 21 August 1930, p. 9.

26 Geoffrey Sherington, ' "A Better Class of Boy" The Big Brother Movement, Youth Migration and Citizenship of Empire', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 120, 2002, p. 267.

27 Sherington, p. 270.

28 Sherington, p. 268.

29 Sherington, p. 271.

W. M. Buntine, headmaster of Caulfield Grammar, and 'America's Black Heritage — Reasons Why Australia Should Preserve Her Racial Purity' by J. A. Alexander, a *Sun News Pictorial* staff member who had toured the United States, were common.³⁰ The press of the day reported accordingly: 'The essential qualifications of a Big Brother are good citizenship, patriotism, and a willingness to foster the growth of one human plant in our vast continent. Be a Big Brother and keep Australia white'.³¹

Part of the reason for the poor take up was that many boys from large metropolitan areas were not interested in a rural life on the other side of the world. Another reason was that the myth of the rugged frontier disappeared with World War I. The flower of the Empire's manhood lay dead on Flanders Field and on every other battlefield of that bloody conflict. Because of the carnage, there came a watershed in the understanding of manliness and a growing self-consciousness within the Dominions themselves.³² Further, middle class parents were becoming aware that extended education and academic advancement counted as much towards the new masculinity as did settlement in the far-flung regions of the Empire. Improved employment conditions, a declining birth rate, and higher wages in Britain accentuated this.³³

A further reason for the poor take up were adverse reports that occasionally filtered back to London. While the London organisers of the migration scheme played down such reports, the experiences of L. T. Buckley's son make it quite plain that he did not consider himself one of Baden-Powell's 'lucky beggars going to a great country'. In a letter to his father, subsequently published in the English *Daily Herald*, he said in part:

This place is the last that God made. In the dormitories are terrible beds, as old as Adam is, and infected with bugs. The floors are filthy and are hardly ever washed. The sky is visible through the roof ... the kitchen is filthy, the lavatories are beyond description and the reading and writing room is uninhabitable.³⁴

30 Sherington, p. 278.

31 'Big Brothers to Keep Australia White', *Sunday Times*, (Sydney), 19 April 1925, p. 7.

32 Voeltz, *The British Boy Scout Migration Plan*, p. 148.

33 Michele Langfield, 'To Restore British Migration: The Population Debates of the 1930s in Australia', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 41, no. 3, 1995, p. 412.

34 'Australia Abused', *Queensland Times*, 24 August 1928, p. 7.

In defence of the scheme, the majority of those who did migrate under the Boy Scout, Big Brother and New Settlers' League schemes had positive experiences. One Scout wrote:

There are many ways in which my home scout training has come in handy, such as tracking, handyman's badge, pathfinders, etc. I have grown into a 6-foot boy and I am not yet 18: I like driving and horse-breaking best ... I can always make a living here as long as I am willing to work.³⁵

Another un-named lad who took up a position at Kingaroy said:

The people here have treated me like one of the family, and I am thanking you for getting this work. I am doing fine and have settled down to the life naturally. It is quite different from the old one, and I intend to do my best to strike out on my own as a farmer in two or three years time.³⁶

The scheme was, however, flawed. A major issue was a misreading of conditions in Australia. The population in 1920 was a little over 5 million and mostly urban. The growth rate to 1939 was less than 1 percent per annum and this very low population and slow growth rate was of concern to the government. The emphasis was on general population increase, rather than on rural development but the depression saw the Scullin Labour government in 1930 restrict assisted immigration to domestic servants, boys for farm work and nominees with descendants already in Australia.³⁷ In 1930, depression and scarcity of work caused suspension of the Boy Scout migration scheme.³⁸

The Boy Scout scheme in Victoria and the Big Brother Movement merged in 1930 because many of their services overlapped. At that time, there were 225 Boy Scout migrants and 1,038 Little Brothers, but the number of boys arriving in Australia had fallen. The representative for overseas settlement, E. T. Crutchley, hoped that Baden-

³⁵ 'A Scout Immigrant', *Morning Bulletin*, 5 June 1925, p. 7.

³⁶ 'New Settlers' League', *Nambour Chronicle and North Coast Advertiser*, 20 April 1923, p. 1.

³⁷ Langfield, p. 409.

³⁸ Marshall, p. 87.

Powell's visit would see a revival of the scheme,³⁹ but it was not to be. The Chief Commissioner for Victoria, C. A. Hoadley, wrote to Captain Sutton, the British Commissioner for Overseas Scouts and Migration advising him that in Victoria, 'the scheme was dead; the government refuses to talk about it, although I understand Queensland is doing so'.⁴⁰

In Queensland, as in the rest of Australia, the scheme lay moribund for the remainder of the 1930s. Given the effort and expenditure put into the scheme, the question arises — was it successful? Did it improve the lives of the small number of Scouts who migrated? Did it make successful farmers of them? Did it keep them away from the temptations of modern life; 'the present craving for sensation, pleasure, and vicarious eroticism [which arise] from an unconscious terror of modern life'.⁴¹ The evidence suggests not. An excerpt from a 1935 report expresses negatives in almost every respect:

All those who came out, the poorest type are still depending on the Boy Scout Association. The better ones are all doing well. 250 came out through the Boy Scout Association, and 70 or 80 of these were of poor type, and 30 definitely bad ... The large portion have returned to cities ... The cost of land is almost prohibitive, coupled with the cost of clearing it. There is practically overproduction already of fruit, wheat, veggies, etc. The general conclusion is to only send boys of the good type, somewhat trained to country work and definitely bent on country life.⁴²

Several elements in this excerpt bear mention. The first is the large portion who returned to the cities. This is exactly what Baden-Powell wished to avoid. It was a negation of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 7th Scout Laws — honour, loyalty, duty, and obedience. These boys were not living up to their honour to do their best, to be loyal to, or do their duty by their employer, or knuckle down and get on with it. The *quality* of boy also came into question, 'poorest type', and 'definitely bad'. These boys were not within Baden-Powell's remit of Scouts who would, 'sacrifice home comfort and have the guts and grins to face a rough life and a hard one',⁴³ but it was upon their shoulders that most of

39 'Migration Amalgamation: Boy Scouts and Big Brother', *The Argus*, 15 May 1930, p. 5

40 Letter, C. A. Hoadley to C. J. Sutton, 27 July 1930, TC27, SAA.

41 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1931, p. 6.

42 'Report on Migration', C. A. Hoadley to Mr Sanders, 1935, TC27, SAA.

43 Robert Baden-Powell, 'Migration', draft article for *The Scouter*, 1935, TC27, SAA.

the blame fell. The irony is that the same report mentioned the prohibitive cost of purchasing and clearing the land and, coupled with the fact that the work was poorly paid and there was an over production of crops, it is no wonder there were problems. The report did find fault with the depressed economic circumstances, unemployment and lack of support, and there was no suggestion that the scheme be abandoned, just that a better class of youth be selected.⁴⁴ The concept was sound; the process flawed. The scheme was based on a gross misunderstanding of conditions in the Dominions and changing sociological conditions in Britain. The various committees' conclusions are an unfair reflection on the boys who participated in the scheme, and Baden-Powell's blinkered belief in the myth of the frontier was a very weak foundation for the scheme, because it was just that — a myth.

As a loyal part of the Dominions, Queensland Scouting continued to accept the dictates of policy and procedures from Imperial Headquarters. In return, Baden-Powell was fulsome of his praise for the British outpost, once commenting: 'it was very satisfying to be back on a great continent rich in farms and sunshine ... belonging to our own British race'.⁴⁵ Queensland closely followed happenings in Britain, regularly reported in *The Brisbane Courier*, via Baden-Powell's syndicated column, *The Chief Talks*. These columns often targeted the boy directly, but many of the articles were metaphors for maintaining and strengthening the Empire. 'Playing for your Side'; Scouts should be playing for Team Britain; 'The Lone Hand'; not good at obeying orders, but a Scout must always obey orders, even those he does not like; 'The Brick in the Wall'; Queensland is one brick in the Empire's wall of Dominions.⁴⁶ Many of the *Courier's* columns were excerpts from Baden-Powell's books or articles in *The Scouter*. While the Scout Movement was apolitical, it was not immune to forces from political fronts that threatened its survival.

Baden-Powell abhorred communism. The Empire's imperialist ideal was under threat from communist and totalitarian regimes. The Labour Press in Brisbane was scathing of Imperialism: 'The only hope for the world is in Socialism ... Imperialism is incompatible with liberty and justice'.⁴⁷ However, the Boy Scout Movement, with its

⁴⁴ Johnstone, pp. 104-105.

⁴⁵ Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts beyond the Seas*, p. 140.

⁴⁶ 'The Chief Talks: Playing for Your Side', *The Brisbane Courier*, 26 December 1930, p. 7.

⁴⁷ 'Points for the Propagandists', *Worker*, 23 September 1920, p. 1.

conservative imperial ideology could act as a foil against those who sought to destabilise the state. In an article 'Red Conspiracy Unmasked', *The Brisbane Courier* quoted: 'It [the Anti-Communist sentiment] must penetrate into the factories among the working youth, and must be directed towards the conversion of imperialistic war into civil war, which was the workers' revolution'. The newspaper went on to suggest that campaigns conducted in the Boy Scouts and like organisations should combat the menace.⁴⁸ In defence of a virulent attack on the Movement by Rev J. Robertson, Chief Commissioner Charles Snow, echoing Baden-Powell's attitude said: 'The Scout Movement is anti-nothing, if it is anti-communist', adding, 'Scouting [is] a character-building organisation, international and worldwide in influence'.⁴⁹

Socialist and Communist organisations went out of their way to denigrate the Boy Scout Movement. 'If we needed any additional encouragement it exists in the recent declaration of war on Boy Scouts by the Communists, who have recognised that we are building up loyal and sensible citizens, who are detrimental to their effort to pervert youth'.⁵⁰ In London, Baden-Powell received a 1928 Christmas gift of a coffin from the communists, which did not worry him as the Movement in 'Britain and the Empire numbered 5,280,000, an increase of 61,000 from the previous year'.⁵¹ The spite and vitriol towards the Scout Movement emanating from the *Worker*, a socialist newspaper associated with the Labour Movement in Brisbane, is indicative of the virulence of the opposition to Scouting in Queensland as a whole. In its regular feature, 'The Passing Show', the edition of 27 July 1927 reported on a Brisbane City Council meeting wherein the Hamilton Scout Group applied to lease a parcel of land. The Labour opposition tried to amend the motion but were defeated, with the Mayor commenting that both the Scout and Guide Movements will produce a 'race of men and women able to do something for their country'. The *Worker* responded:

However, the possibility for any success for this eugenic experiment is open to serious doubt. The material selected is ideal enough for Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, but from a stockbreeder's point of view, it would

48 'Red Conspiracy Unmasked', *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 November 1931, p. 13.

49 'Character First – World of Scouting', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 13 May 1933, p. 7.

50 'Build Loyalty: Boy Scout Triumph', *Sunday Mail*, 29 January 1928, p. 1.

51 'Boy Scout Movement: Communist antagonism: Grim Christmas Box', *Maryborough Chronicle, Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser*, 2 January 1928, p. 5.

mostly be culls. It is nearly all too skinny in the leg, too hollow in the chest, too narrow in the brow, and too vacuous in the countenance to pass any even mediocre standard of either physical or mental fitness ... but it does have its uses. It organises on a mentality basis in which priggishness and lack of independence of character are the chief characteristics.⁵²

Given that character development was central to the Scout Method of education, such an attack could have justified a spirited response. However, a close perusal of the minutes and other surviving documents of the period indicate that neither the Queensland Branch, nor Scout Groups individually paid serious attention to any opposition of this nature, regardless of the source. The growth of the Movement worldwide was silent testimony to the visceral comments of the socialist left: by 1937, there were 'over two and a half million Scouts from nearly fifty countries affiliated with the International Bureau'.⁵³

In 1929, the Boy Scout Movement celebrated its coming-of-age and Baden-Powell ensured Queensland received the message: 'Commissioners no longer sit as figureheads ... Scoutmasters no longer content themselves making their boys look smart on parade ... don't be content with merely the fringe'. Queensland heeded the message: 'This direction from the Chief Scout should appeal to all the virile in Scouting ... coinciding as it does with the views and practices of your Commissioners for several years past'.⁵⁴ Queensland also followed Baden-Powell's dictum of keeping strict control on expansion of the Movement, regardless of comments to the contrary. As the Movement continued to grow worldwide, Imperial Headquarters and Baden-Powell were concerned that they were uninformed on developments, especially in the Dominions. They therefore set in motion the first review of technique, programming, and leadership as they applied in Queensland.⁵⁵

⁵² 'Favours to Boy Scouts', *Worker*, 27 July 1927, p. 5.

⁵³ Scouts Australia, *The History of Scouting*, 2014, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Report, Chief Scout Master Snow to State Council, 30 June 1929, p. 4.

⁵⁵ Minutes, State Executive, 5 June 1936, p. 5. Imperial Headquarters had long since recognised the 'internationalness' of Scouting and that it developed in ways that were unique to various locations. The next serious review in Australia was not until 1966, and the third started in 2012.

The Boy Scout Movement was successful on many fronts, but as in all cases of human endeavour, there are instances, including the Boy Scout Migration Scheme, where some enterprises are less successful than others. While the majority of boys who did migrate had positive experiences, overall the scheme itself did not achieve the outcomes the organisers anticipated or expected. There were many areas of the Boy Scout Movement over which Baden-Powell had a direct or indirect influence, one such being the Boy Scout Migration Scheme. Another was the way in which the Queensland Branch followed the policies and procedures Baden-Powell adopted in England to structure its organisation and management.

PART 2: THE EXECUTIVE OF THE COUNCIL OF CONTROL

A Council of Control controlled the Boy Scout Movement in Queensland. This Council became the locus of power that restricted access to administrative and economic decision-making within a close-knit group of like-minded people.⁵⁶ To understand Baden-Powell's influence on this body — even if indirect — it is necessary to examine the origins, operations and financial dealings of the Queensland Council.

As did Imperial Headquarters in London, the Queensland Council of Control adopted a policy of having fewer people with a real say, and decreed that those people should be of the same mind as the Chief. Charles Snow was one of the four original Scoutmasters in Queensland and at a well-attended meeting in July 1909 became Chief Scoutmaster in a manner that Les Slaughter describes as 'irregular'. The following year a member of the New South Wales Boy Scouts Council travelled to Brisbane and suggested to Snow that Queensland should form a committee of 'citizens of standing and influence' similar to controlling bodies in London and elsewhere.⁵⁷ The Council of Control, comprising E. J. Stevens M.L.C., and William Kidston, Premier of Queensland as Patron, was formed within the inordinately short period of two months of the southerner's visit.

Snow, a jeweler from Kangaroo Point was just twenty-six years of age when he joined in 1908, and served as Chief Commissioner for Queensland from 1909 to 1922. In 1923, Snow took on the role of Commissioner for Sea Scouts to develop that section of the

⁵⁶ Booker-McLay, p. 31.

⁵⁷ 'The Boy Scouts: The Action of the Council', *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1910, p. 5.

Movement, and resumed his duties as Chief Commissioner in 1924, serving in that capacity until his retirement in 1943.⁵⁸

As a way of giving their actions an imprimatur of authority, the Queensland Council of Control took upon themselves various roles, including that of arbiter of disputes. By inference, this gave the Council a judicial function that implied a standing as the legitimate authority over all elements of the nascent Movement, including development of policy and procedures. However, the means and methods of achieving this position were dubious.⁵⁹ Eleven members attended the meeting of July 1909 at the Commercial Travelers' Club in Brisbane at which Snow was elected Chief Scoutmaster, although first time attendees Scoutmasters Bignold and Farran had no official status. There were no further positions suggested or nominations proposed at that meeting. However, on 7 September 1909, a further meeting was held at John Forrest's office in Mary Street with only four people present (not at the Commercial Travelers' Club where meetings were normally held). The four were, the Hon E. J. Stevens, M.L.C., John Forrest, Septimus Davis and Charles Snow.⁶⁰ Given Baden-Powell's antipathy towards politicians, ('we in the Scout Movement are non-political as far as party politics go')⁶¹, it is surprising that Snow had politicians serving not just on the Council of Control, but also on the inner Executive. The politicians serving on the Executive were E. J. Stevens M.L.C,⁶² and A. J. Thynne M.L.C.⁶³

Slaughter argues that this meeting was the outcome of the July meeting, but if that is so, why were only four people present? Booker-McLay argues that if Snow acted on the advice of the New South Wales representative, then the 7 September meeting may have

58 Slaughter, p. 12; Fones pp. 84-85, 209.

59 Had the Coungeau debacle (see Chapter 2) occurred at this time, it is doubtful that Snow et al would have survived the conflict.

60 Minutes of a meeting held for the purpose of forming a Council of Control of the Australian League of Boy Scouts in Queensland, 7 September 1909, pp. 1-2.

61 Baden-Powell, 'The Responsibilities of Citizenship', *Outlook*, June 1918.

62 E. J. Stevens (1845-1922), MLC was a pastoralist and company director. He founded the Southern Queensland Border Agricultural and Pastoral Society, and the Nerang, Redland Southport and Beenleigh Schools of Art. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, text M 1654).

63 Andrew Thynne started his working life in the Public Service, but took articles within a year and admitted to the Bar in 1873. He was appointed to the Legislative council in 1882, remaining there until its abolition in 1922. He was President of the Queensland Ambulance, and attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Volunteer Corps of the Queensland Defence Force. He was appointed to the Scout's Committee of Control in 1910. Brian Stevenson, 'Thynne, Andrew Joseph (1847-1927)', *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, vol. 12, 1990.

been a (very) select invitation only affair, and if so, Snow may not have acted alone.⁶⁴ At that meeting a motion was carried that the organisation be known as the 'Australian League Boy Scouts, Queensland Section'. To ensure that control of the League was securely contained, this meeting also appointed the principal Office Bearers. The meeting ratified Snow's earlier appointment as Chief Scoutmaster, and appointed John Forest, as President, and Septimus Davis and Charles Snow, as Vice-Presidents. A further meeting on 1 October comprising just Snow, Forest, and Davies, resolved to form an Executive Committee of the Council of Control, with powers to settle disputes, organise classes of instruction, encourage the formation of Patrols throughout the state, 'and adopt a uniform policy for the guidance of Scoutmasters and Patrols'.⁶⁵ This would seem to have been done without the knowledge of the wider Council, and while it may be argued that in the absence of adverse comment in the minutes of the time these meetings had the approval of the other Scoutmasters, it nonetheless suggests that Snow needed to secure these positions of authority without delay in order to exercise complete and restricted control of the Movement. These actions are indicative of the Queensland Leaders' need for both influence and control, a need that continued unabated during the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁶

Snow was involved in the secession of 1910 (see Chapter 2; Part 3), and, no doubt remembering the unsatisfactory manner in which that was handled, by dint of forceful personality ensured that all committee structures from that time were strictly controlled. The lead up to and the handling of the 1910 secession is indicative of the way the Council of Control manipulated both the situation and the press to their advantage, while seemingly giving serious consideration to the Scoutmasters' grievances. In early April 1910, the Council of Control chose to increase membership by nine members, and agreed that the Scoutmasters could 'nominate as many as were required', however, the final selection remained in the hands of the Council. They attempted to justify that action by saying, 'the action of the Council had simply been intended as a guide to

64 Booker-McLay, p. 36.

65 Minutes, Council of Control, 1 October 1909, p. 3.

66 That need is reflected in the Council's refusal to allow Scoutmasters a truly democratic representation on the Central Executive Committee (Minutes, Council of Control, 17 May 1910; Council of Control, 14 June 1910); altering the constitution to require the Council of Control to meet half-yearly instead of quarterly (Minutes, Special Meeting Council of Control, 27 June 1911, p. 1.); altering the constitution restricting Scoutmaster voting to 20% of the total vote (Minutes, State Council, 28 May 1928), and a refusal to affiliate with the Australian Council of Youth (Minutes, State Council, 27 April 1937).

Scoutmasters ... as to whom they should nominate'.⁶⁷ This move concentrated even further the locus of power within the hands of the Council, and the disaffected Scoutmasters asked to meet with a Council delegation to put before them certain resolutions. The Council of Control called a full meeting to deal with the issues. Held on 17 May, it was attended by five Executive, nine Council members and seven disaffected Scoutmasters. A resolution was put that 'the Scoutmasters should have adequate representation (these representatives being elected by themselves) on the Central Council of Control ... [and] that in order to prevent a split in the ranks ... the present Council be asked to arrange a meeting of three members of the Council and three Scoutmasters'. Chairman Stevens thought the time had arrived when the Council should make a stand for loyalty and discipline in the ranks. The Scoutmasters demands were refused without reason⁶⁸ and the seven disaffected Scoutmasters left the meeting. At this meeting, voting privileges were accorded to all present; the first and only time such an extended privilege was documented at any Council of Control meeting in this period. Further, there is no record of a *Brisbane Courier* reporter being present at the meeting, although it reported pejoratively: 'malcontents who from the outset adopted an aggressive attitude', and 'who left the meeting in high dudgeon'.⁶⁹

Retribution was swift and decisive. The resignations of all but three were demanded and accepted; Scoutmasters Bartlett, Anderson and Tucker were dismissed instead, and Bartlett was later to claim that 'the League attempted to lure him back with the offer of a staff position'.⁷⁰ As a footnote to this matter, the Council of Control held (another) special meeting on 26 May when Chief Scoutmaster Snow advised the necessity of strengthening the Council of Control 'by the addition of three Scoutmasters'.⁷¹ This move is significant for two reasons. Firstly, the Council of Control hastily recognized the danger of dissension and that the damage caused by the secession was to the reputation of the people concerned, not the operation of the Movement itself. It was also recognition that the matter could have been handled in a more conciliatory manner. As

67 'The Boy Scouts: The Action of the Council', *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1910, pp. 5-6.

68 Minutes, Special Meeting, Council of Control, 17 May 1910. pp. 1-2.

69 'The Boy Scouts: The Action of the Council', *The Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1910, pp. 5-6. The secessionists affiliated themselves with the British Boy Scouts, and in a cynical about face *The Brisbane Courier* had no hesitation in becoming the official organ of that group, carrying a report of their inaugural meeting 'Queensland British Boy Scouts', in complimentary terms on 6 August 1910, p. 4.

70 'Boy Scouts; an enthusiastic meeting', *The Daily Mail*, 28 May 1910, p. 2.

71 Minutes, Special Meeting, Council of Control, 26 May 1910. pp. 1-2.

a form of concession to the loyal Scoutmasters, The Council of Control agreed to extend their representation at Council level. However, secondly, and more importantly, nothing really changed. The Executive of the Council of Control still held the real power, because even though it would be possible for the full Council of Control to outvote the Executive, members of the Council were there by virtue of the Executive's favour. Loyalty was not reciprocal; the Movement promoted decentralisation, but it was never democratic.

Concerned that Imperial Headquarters in London might intervene in these matters, Queensland hastily applied for affiliation in July 1910. There is no mention in the surviving records of London's concern with these matters; their concern was with the name chosen by Queensland. Imperial Headquarters demanded the name be changed to the 'League of Baden-Powell Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, (Affiliated by special warrant with English Headquarters)'.⁷² This affiliation document stated that there was no such appointment as Chief Scoutmaster but there was a District Scoutmaster, and that Governors were Chief Scouts and not Chief Commissioners. Further, while Queensland did appoint the Governor, Sir William MacGregor, as Chief Scout, Snow persisted with the titles of Chief Scout for the Governor and Chief Scoutmaster for himself.⁷³ Snow displayed an assertiveness in Queensland that Victoria's scout administrators lacked. Marshall argues that the Movement in Victoria was neither confident nor independent and could only ever be 'a pale version of the superior motherland', and that there was little if any questioning of the suitability of parts of the British mode and method for Australian circumstances.⁷⁴ Queensland did not wait on official sanction from Imperial Headquarters before it functioned, although it did follow Baden-Powell's 'suggestion' that the principle of 'controlled cooperation be extended as a form of organisation'. Baden-Powell, at his own instance, was kept informed of developments at all levels and received Annual Reports as a matter of course.⁷⁵

In the ensuing years, nothing changed concerning the control exerted by the Executive of the Council of Control. Membership of the Council was determined by appointment

72 The inclusion of 'Baden-Powell' in the name of the organisation is indicative of Baden-Powell's desire to control all aspects of the Movement.

73 Slaughter, pp. 13; 21. Sometime between 1919 and 1920, Snow's change of title to Chief Commissioner became effective, and the Governor of the state became State Chief Scout.

74 Marshall, p. 29.

75 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1931, pp. 4-5.

rather than election; when Forrest⁷⁶ resigned as President through ill health, he informed the Council that he had approached A. J. Thynne to replace him. There is no indication that he sought the approval of the Council of Control for this. Significantly, as Booker-McLay argues, this matter was not placed before the Council, thus making it an appointment, and further, Thynne was a politician. For an avowedly apolitical organisation, appointing a politician as Chairman of the Council was a most unusual step.⁷⁷ Shortly after, a Constitution was drawn up emphasising the hierarchy of control. A review of the Constitution in 1925 revealed that the Central Executive Committee of the Council of Control continued to hold the real power.⁷⁸ In 1928, the Constitution was altered to give the Council of Control and the Central Executive Committee power to control the composition of the Executive, 'so that at all times the warranted Scouters on the Executive shall not be more than 20% of the total number of members other than ex-officio members'.⁷⁹ The Constitution was revised again in 1935 and the bureaucracy burgeoned with the formal addition of several sub-committees to handle discrete aspects of Scouting. Appointments to the Executive were nominated by Chief Commissioner Snow, and co-opted ex-officio members were not entitled to vote. Although a 'new method of Government had obtained'⁸⁰ overall control of the management and decision-making, the Movement remained firmly in the hands of the Executive, which Snow controlled.

The Morningside Scout Group Committee wrote to the Council of Control seeking information on submitting nominations for positions on the Council. At the Central Executive Committee meeting of 28 October 1929, District Commissioner Collings, in a twist of unintended irony, suggested that many of the Scouters 'would find this a rather difficult manner, as most of them [were] only young lads, and would have to deal with men and women much older than themselves'. He had overlooked the fact that Charles Snow was just twenty-six years of age when he controlled the entire (though smaller) movement, dealing with men and women much older than himself. Further, Collings incorrectly assumed it was the Scoutmasters who were seeking election, whereas in fact

76 D. B. Waterson, 'Forrest, John (1848-1911)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, vol. 8, 1981. John Forrest was president of the Brisbane Golf Club from 1902-09, and he was also an enthusiastic horse-breeder and a committee-man of the Queensland Turf Club. Additionally, he was an active supporter of the Boy Scouts.

77 Booker-McLay, p. 44.

78 Constitution of the League of Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, 27 April 1925, pp. 9-30.

79 Minutes, State Council, 28 May 1928, pp. 1-2. (Note that ex-officio members had no voting rights).

80 Minutes, State Council, 10 August 1936, pp. 2-3.

it was members of the parent committee of Morningside Scout Troop.⁸¹ The question of 'age' persisted. Many had suggested that a minimum age of twenty-five for a Scoutmaster was a hindrance to expanding the movement. Snow's reply to this concern was: 'It was found that young men between the ages of 18 and 25 generally were unsuited by reason of lack of experience of young life to successfully undertake the leadership of boys'. Perhaps at fifty years of age, he had forgotten his own beginnings of leadership at nearly that age.⁸²

Across Queensland, numerous newspaper accounts indicate that at patrol level the machinations of the Council of Control or the Central Executive Committee did not deter the boys from enjoying their Scouting. The *Longreach Leader* stated that the 'Catholic Troop at Yepoon [had] a wonderful time', on their camp, and *The Queensland Times*, noted that the 2nd Ipswich Troop 'were successful in winning the Owen Shield', at a local swimming carnival.⁸³ As the numbers of Scout Groups increased so too did the range of activities. Within the Scouting style of activities, Troops participated in their rounds of camps and hikes, rallies and fetes, fund raising and community service. As districts became more numerous, multi-group camps became more common, often with a competitive flavor to the campcraft. 'Things "scouty" in Brisbane are beginning to move rapidly since the new district scheme has come into operation', reported *The Queenslander*, continuing, 'inter-troop weekend competitive camps, and troop visitations are the order of the day'.⁸⁴ Such competitions of course bring a patrol's camping standards under a critical eye; which in Scouting is a very important element. One Troop's report included: 'Unscreened kitchen isolated from camp, unprotected from straying cattle. Careless washing up at breakfast, grease pit left uncovered ... firewood not stacked or graded'. However, in spite of the criticisms the patrol scored 102½ points out of a possible 130.⁸⁵ Such criticism, taken in the manner offered, reportedly led to a much improved performance on future occasions, which is another indicator of the positive influence of the Scout Method of education; an influence that carried through to other aspects of a boy's life, as noted by *the Brisbane Courier*. In an article on a visit by two Papuan Scouts, the paper commented: 'typical of the Scout

81 Minutes, Council of Control, 28 October 1929, p. 2, 5.

82 Minutes, State Council, 27 February 1933, p. 4.

83 'Scouts Holiday', *The Longreach Leader*, 23 January 1931, p. 13; 'Boy Scouts Success', *The Queensland Times*, 28 February 1931, p. 8.

84 'Boy Scouts: Moving Rapidly', *The Queenslander*, 28 May 1931, p. 53.

85 'Boy Scouts: Inter-Patrol Competition Camping', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 16 October 1931, p. 3.

Movement, they keep notes on every incident which will be of education value to their brother Scouts in Papua'.⁸⁶

The Central Executive Committee was required to take strong and decisive action on occasions. These occasions mostly related to protecting the name and uniform of the Movement as imitators emerged.⁸⁷ In his report to the State Council in 1916, Chief Commissioner Snow said that steps must be taken to effect 'The suppression of imitation Scout bodies where the existence of such is calculated to do harm to true Scouting'.⁸⁸ On one such occasion, the police became involved. Claude de Bell Jamieson Bennett became a Scoutmaster in 1909. He was in regular attendance at Council of Control meetings, but resigned after figuring prominently in the secession of 1910.⁸⁹ Bennet then aligned himself with the British Boy Scouts formed by Sir Francis Vane following his (Vane's) dispute with Baden-Powell, and subsequently formed a group called the Boys' Seaside Ambulance. In 1919, Bennet was charged with 'Unlawfully and indecently dealing with one Arthur Townsend, a boy under the age of 14 years', committed for trial on 31 March 1919, and subsequently sentenced to three years hard labour.⁹⁰ There were however, repercussions from the case; namely, that many Scouts received insults at work and in the streets because the Boys' Seaside Ambulance uniform closely resembled that of the Boy Scouts. This was sufficiently damaging for Chairman Henderson to interview the Crown Prosecutor, to ask him to read a statement to the court to the effect that Bennet had no connection with the Scout Movement.⁹¹ *The Brisbane Courier* published a letter on behalf of the Movement stating that 'Claude de B. J. Bennett ... is not an officer or instructor of the Boy Scouts' Association. The "Boys' Seaside Ambulance Corps", with which this man has been associated, has absolutely no connection with our association, nor has the body known as the "Imperial Boy Scouts", which he formerly controlled'.⁹²

86 'Scouts Social', *The Brisbane Courier*, 23 March 1931, p. 17.

87 Minutes, Special Committee, 19 September 1918, p. 1. The Committee recommended that Federal Incorporation should proceed as swiftly as possible to protect the name of the association 'by prohibition of the term "Scout" by any other Association, and to protect the Uniform'.

88 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council 18 December 1916, p. 2.

89 Minutes, Special meeting, Council of Control, 26 May 1910, p. 2.

90 Queensland Police Department, *Queensland Police Gazette*, 1919, pp. 151; 210.

91 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 11 April 1919, p. 2.

92 'The Bennett Case', *The Brisbane Courier*, 3 April 1919, p. 3.

The Royal Charter granted to the Boy Scouts Association in 1912 by King George V gave Baden-Powell authority to form a governing body and make his own appointments to that body. He elected himself President and appointed a selection of high-ranking military officers, members of the ecclesiastical elite, universities and public schools whom he thought would be not just advantageous to the Movement, but would not disagree with his autocratic management style. He refused to have existing leaders on the governing body, considering such a situation unworkable.⁹³ There were moves in Queensland to follow suit. In an attempt to garner influence with the churches, Staff Scout Master Milliken 'moved that the head of all the churches should be asked to join the Council'.⁹⁴

The Council of Control was responsible for financing its own activities and in this period sought support from a variety of sources. Similarly, individual Scout Groups were responsible for raising their own funds, including the purchase or construction of meeting halls, and their equipment. Individual Scouts paid a registration fee, and Groups paid a Group levy of five shillings to the Council.⁹⁵ However, these levies were a fraction of the running costs of the Council, so it developed a number of strategies to finance their operations. Snow considered the bureaucracy sufficiently inept in 1917 to list a number of immediate problems facing the Movement, declaring the Council of Control must get 'A thorough grip of the situation and a greater Executive interest on the part of the State Council', and recommended regular meetings and the creation of a (stronger) executive body.⁹⁶ At a special meeting in August 1921, Chief Commissioner Snow and Scout Master Outridge each gave a £50 interest free loan and Snow cancelled a further debt of £25. At that same meeting, a suggestion to change the constitution to allow people to become members on payment of an annual subscription was put forward, but there is no evidence that this actually occurred.⁹⁷

Parental involvement in their children's welfare can be a mercurial thing. At the Toowoomba Technical College's annual Certificate Awards night, the Principal

93 Percy Neville, in J. Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1904*, p. 62

94 Minutes, Council of Control, 16 August 1910, p. 2.

95 This Group levy was imposed from the outset. Minutes of a meeting held for the purpose of forming a Council of Control of the Australian League of Boy Scouts in Queensland, 7 September 1909, p. 2.

96 Report, Chief Scoutmaster Snow to State Council, August 1917, pp. 1-4.

97 Minutes, Special Meeting, Council of Control, 9 August 1921, p. 2; Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 1 September 1921, p. 2.

‘referred to the lack of interest taken in the college by parents’.⁹⁸ The *Queensland Times*, commenting on parent apathy towards diphtheria immunisation in Ipswich noted: ‘only six children have received the benefit of the City Council’s free Immunisation’.⁹⁹ The Boy Scout Movement was not immune to this fact of community life. Commenting on the apathy of parents, P. J. Symes said that the Movement ‘should be self-supporting, and he thought it was necessary to make parents realise their responsibilities’.¹⁰⁰ County Commissioner Collings was more direct in 1935: ‘One of the big drawbacks to our work to my mind is the apathy of parents of Scouts, and I do appeal for greater interest in the work.’¹⁰¹

In 1924, the situation eased somewhat with a gift of £5000 by Mr and Mrs H. Monteith as a memorial to their son Bob, who ‘gave his life for the Empire in The Great War’. This donation was quite timely given that a Citizen’s Appeal earlier that year netted only £479 17s, from an expected £2500.¹⁰² Matters improved slightly towards the end of the 1920s, but suffered significantly in the Depression of 1929-1932, with the 1933 balance sheet disclosing receipts of £1075, and expenditure of £1200. The Council of Control proposed creating an Endowment Fund to give the Branch a stable source of income, which though first mooted in 1925, did not come into existence until 1937, which was very late compared to Britain (1913) and New South Wales (1925).¹⁰³ Another source of income was the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust Fund. Eliza Hall established this fund in 1911 after her husband’s death. It was capitalised at £1,000,000 with one-quarter of that sum allocated to Queensland, with the caveat that expenditure go towards:

The relief of poverty, the advancement of education, the advancement of religion in accordance with the tenets of the Church of England, and for the general benefit of the community not falling under the preceding heads. As far as was practicable, one third of the income in each State was to be used for the benefit of women and children.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ ‘Parents’ Apathy’, *The Brisbane Courier*, 13 December 1929, p. 19.

⁹⁹ ‘Parents’ Apathy’, *Queensland Times*, 11 April 1934, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes, State Council, 25 September, 1933, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ Minutes, State Council, 28 August 1935, p. 3.

¹⁰² Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 1 September 1924, p. 9.

¹⁰³ Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, pp. 78-79. The British fund was opened in September 1913 and closed in August 1914, at which time it totalled a little over £100,000.

¹⁰⁴ Hazel King, ‘Hall, Walter Russell (1831-1911)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra, vol. 9, 1983.

In the period 1930 to 1935, the Bob Monteith Memorial Fund and the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust Fund provided the Queensland Branch with 54% of its annual average income.¹⁰⁵ The Council of Control was suitably appreciative of the Monteiths and rewarded Henry Monteith with a position on the Council, but that obviously did not reflect the substantiality of his position. To reassure him that his gift was ‘well directed’, he received appointment to the Central Executive Committee as Vice-President.¹⁰⁶ However, he was later to express disappointment ‘at not knowing what had been done in the direction for which the fund was created’, and the Council of Control noted that ‘he [be] assured that such arrangements would be made so as to make the best possible use of them’. The financial records of the time contain a separate section for the Bob Monteith Memorial Fund, detailing the expenditure, and further, as a member of the Central Executive Committee, he would have been privy to these reports.¹⁰⁷ In a twist of irony, the Movement benefited from an ‘unexpected but welcome windfall’ of £876 from the estates of Naoum and Emily Coungeau.¹⁰⁸

Issues of organisation and leadership were continuing matters of concern. There was criticism by the Council about Groups whom they considered were ‘taken up with their own local problems ... [and there was] quite a wrong impression in many of the country centres with regard to the function of Headquarters because it happened to be situated in Brisbane’. The issue persisted and Chief Commissioner Snow criticised the ‘narrow outlook of some country centres.’¹⁰⁹ However, keeping country centres informed on the Function of the State Council, necessitated trips by the Chief Commissioner and the President of the Association, and Headquarters simply did not have the money to do this, as outlined by the State Chief Scout, Sir Leslie Wilson at that same meeting. He said: ‘I do not feel at all happy with regard to our financial position. When one comes to analyse it, our balance really is £4/12/9d, which all must admit is a really serious state of affairs’.¹¹⁰

105 Total receipts for the period were £5849, and the combined income from the two funds was £3175.

106 Report, Chairman Lloyd to Central Executive Committee, 27 April 1925, p. 1

107 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 22 February 1926, p. 2.

108 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1937, p. 2. It was Coungeau’s gift of £50 that sparked the secession of 1910.

109 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 24 April 1933, p. 4.

110 Minutes, State Council, 23 August 1933, pp. 1-2; 6.

During this coming of age period, the Council of Control set about systematically consolidating its grasp on power and influence. It structured its Executive and larger Council to ensure members appreciated where their allegiance lay, and voting was contained within strict parameters. Such controls ensured the functioning of the Movement in accordance with the wishes of the Executive. Although the financial affairs of the Branch were a constant cause for concern, the Council of Control managed these with competence. Broader issues occupied the Council's time and energies including engaging with the wider community to garner support for its programs and activities, while securing increased membership.

PART 3: ENGAGEMENT

The end of World War I brought fresh challenges for Queensland Scouting. Resources had been diverted to the war effort, and training had suffered. The Council of Control took steps to put the Movement on a more balanced footing which necessitated taking a pro-active stance concerning publicity, and securing the cooperation and assistance of prominent companies, institutions and individuals. At the forefront of their concerns was membership, with policies determined by the Council of Control a factor in Queensland Scouting's slow growth rate.

The popularity and spread of the Movement brought to the surface issues of who could – and could or could not – become a member. The manner in which the Queensland Branch engaged with potential youth and leader membership, created a select, semi-exclusive, organisation. The education paradigm of the Movement was aimed at working class youth specifically to address perceived failings of character — seen by some as a contributing factor in imperial decline. Baden-Powell and others believed that Scouting would accord working class youth the benefits of a Public School education focusing on character, health, patriotism and masculinity.¹¹¹ Not only was class an inclusion issue, but many eligible boys in Queensland were excluded because of policies put in place by the Council of Control.

In Queensland, it was not the boys wanting to join that were the problem; they were there by the score; it was the absence of the right sort of leaders that kept the numbers

¹¹¹ Baden-Powell, 'The Responsibilities of Citizenship', *Outlook*, June 1918.

down. There were sufficient applicants, but the Council of Control were looking for men 'of 25 to 50 years who never grow older than 19'.¹¹² The Chief Commissioner explained that new troops should not be formed, 'without the right type of inspiration'.¹¹³ Some centers took matters into their own hands. At Woombye, local residents decided to form a Boy Scout Troop. They created a full committee comprising President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary and no less than eight worthy citizens. However, they did not have a Scout Master, and that appointment, 'was left over until the next meeting of the committee'.¹¹⁴ St George formed a Scout Troop, and in a move that would not have met with Branch approval, appointed Master Everard Wilson as Secretary. Standing policy dictated that Committees would be made up of parents, but the title 'Master' suggests that Everard Wilson was a Scout. These are but two instances where, in Scouting, a policy could be 'more honoured in the breach than the observance'.¹¹⁵

Over the years, Snow's views on limiting the expansion of the Movement in Queensland did not change. In his report of 1928, Snow said: '[I have] discouraged the formation of new troops until they had the right class of men to lead them'.¹¹⁶ This is opposite to the position that prevailed in Canada. Scott Johnston argues that in the formative stages of Scouting in that country, 'the desire to expand membership usually overruled the desire to enforce strict adherence to a set of coherent guiding principles, resulting in modified forms of Scouting that deviated from Scouting's core values as far as necessary to fit the local conditions'.¹¹⁷ Not so in Queensland where the guiding principles were enforced. 'Owing to the definite policy of this Section, which was put in place two years ago, of ensuring quality, rather than quantity, many Troops have either been disbanded or reorganised', Snow stated.¹¹⁸ This attempt at self-justification contained the rider that the actual number of 'efficient Boy Scouts is on the increase'. Clearly, Snow could not reconcile that with his comment in the same report on 'Strength' that, 'so far as can be ascertained ... there will be no appreciable difference in the strength from that recorded in our last Annual Report'. There was a slight decrease that year, but overall membership

112 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to the State Council, 30 June 1925, p. 9.

113 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 19 August 1925, p. 9.

114 'Woombye', *The Brisbane Courier*, 5 September 1922, p. 9.

115 William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, act 1, scene 4, line, 17.

116 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 15 March 1928, p. 3.

117 Johnston, p. 132.

118 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 14 November 1927, p. 6.

decreased from 2700 in 1925, to 2180 in 1927.¹¹⁹ Working actively with the mainstream churches reversed this trend.

Baden-Powell's attitude to religion was low-key, and at policy level, religion was not an issue. His concern was that the Movement not limit its potential by a rigid affiliation with a mainstream religion, but that it also not alienate the religious institutions by paying too little attention to it.¹²⁰ While the 1910 Queensland constitution stressed the undenominational character of Scouting, it recognised the need that Scoutmasters, 'Have a full appreciation of the religious and moral aims underlying the practical instruction all through the scheme of Scouting'.¹²¹ The Queensland Council of Control recognised that the status of the Movement could be enhanced by working closer with the churches, and in 1929, the major churches were invited to form denominational Scout Troops. The Council of Control believed that such a move would increase membership, as it did in Britain. The Council met with representatives of the Presbyterian Church, and with the Archbishop of the Church of England, and Snow reported a favourable response on both occasions.¹²² The Catholic Church, under the general supervision of St Vincent de Paul, ran scout Troops also. However, Brisbane's Catholic Archbishop, James Duhig,¹²³ insisted on a separate constitution, which included clauses requiring non-Catholic Scouts to seek parish permission before joining a Catholic Troop, Catholic Scouts not permitted to attend a camp if arrangements could not be made for them to attend Mass, nor could Catholic Scouts attend a 'Scout's Own Service' while in camp.¹²⁴ In an attempt to both strengthen the ties to the Churches and to ensure that Church sponsored Scout Troops ran along *Scout* lines, Chief Commissioner Snow wrote to Archbishop John Wand of the Anglican Church. Snow suggested the expansion of St Francis's College curriculum to include subjects specifically designed to meet Gilwell Scout Leader training requirements, and although

119 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1927, p. 5-6. Total membership figures recorded for the period 1925 through to 1928 are, 2700, 2262, 2230, and 2180 respectively.

120 Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, p. 267.

121 League of Baden-Powell Boy Scouts, Queensland Section, *Constitution*, 1910, p. 29.

122 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 24 June 1929, p. 3.

123 Sir James Duhig was made coadjutor to Archbishop Dunne in Brisbane in 1912, and succeeded him in 1917. Just as Chief Scout Master Snow considered modern entertainment a contributor to a lessening of morals in young people, Duhig blamed the cinema for 'a lack of cohesion in family life and for the "perversion of the young" '. While he was sympathetic to Scouting, and served on the State Council, he still required all Catholic Scout Troops to operate under their own constitution. He was a close friend of Andrew Thynne (see footnote 63). T. P. Boland, 'Duhig, Sir James (1871-1965)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Melbourne University Press, vol. 8, 1981.

124 Constitution of the Catholic Advisory Council, Queensland, 1930, p. 4.

the minutes record an acknowledgement of Snow's approach, there is no indication of the outcome. A similar approach to Archbishop Duhig went unanswered.¹²⁵

These Scouts, called Controlled Troops, were beneficial to both Scouting and the churches. They enhanced numbers for the remainder of the 1930s, and at the same time provided alternative program ideas for the church groups when their own youth participation was falling. Clergy elected to the State Council in 1934 included Archbishop Duhig, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly, the President of the Queensland Methodist Church, and the President of the Baptist Association.¹²⁶ However, the scheme was not without its problems, the main one being that weekend camps interfered with Sunday School attendance, and although a committee was set up to deal with issues relating to religion, it failed to do so. This went against Snow's imperative of complete control.¹²⁷

At this time action confirmed masculinity in Western culture; the acts a man performed and how well he performed them, made a male a man. The ideal male was unafraid, skilful, energetic, disciplined, and forceful.¹²⁸ According to the Council of Control such males were in short supply; but only by the standards being set by the Council: 'There was nothing wrong with the boys ... [but] a number of mistakes had been made ... in granting warrants to Scouts who ... were not qualified for the position of Scoutmaster'. Further, 'owing to the definite policy ... of ensuring quality rather than quantity, many Troops have been either disbanded or reorganized'.¹²⁹ Leadership training programs at this time were written and controlled by the Imperial Headquarters Training Facility at Gilwell Park Centre just outside London. Queensland had no option but to follow, although it was structured around English conditions.¹³⁰ This policy of controlled expansion continued throughout the inter war years, though there were dissenting voices:

125 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 25 November 1935, p. 5.

126 Minutes, State Council, 29 August 1934, pp. 5-6. The names of two of the clergy are indecipherable.

127 In 1938, Snow proposed that all controlled Troops should be abolished, bringing them under the umbrella of the State Council. The proposal was eventually withdrawn and although Snow claimed improved relations with the churches, problems persisted.

128 Marshall, p. 13.

129 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 22 March 1926, p. 2; Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1927, p. 6.

130 Report, Chief Commissioner Snow to State Council, 30 June 1928, p. 6.

(Mr Lloyd) [the Chairman of the Association stated]: I am not at all satisfied with the progress being made so far as numbers are concerned. The Movement should be able to deal with a very much larger number of boys than is the case at present. I am not prepared to think that we in Queensland are less concerned about the welfare of our young people than they are in other states ... I think our work this year should be distinctly with a view to increasing our membership.¹³¹

Lloyd's comments are important for the reason that this is the first time a disagreement over decreed policy was aired publicly, especially because he was the Chairman of the Association. The occasion was the 1932 annual general meeting at which the Governor, Sir Leslie Orme Wilson, as State Chief Scout was present, together with the State Council of the Movement and a representative selection of Scouters of various ranks. There is no way of knowing if Chief Commissioner Snow took this as a slight, though he is minuted as saying; 'the boys are clamoring for it, but our work is hampered through lack of Scoutmasters'.¹³²

John Springhall, states: 'Baden-Powell reluctantly admitted that Scouting was more popular with boys from his own social background'.¹³³ There was resistance from working class lads on the grounds of cost and image, although Baden-Powell argued that cost was not the problem; the problem was lack of leaders.¹³⁴ Baden-Powell was partly correct. Uniforms for those who did join, were often an improvised affair, because parents of working class boys in those days did not possess much money,¹³⁵ and there was an appeal by the Commissioner to change the uniform from breeches to shorts to ease the cost burden. Both the Prince of Wales and the Chief Scout wore shorts, and while a favorable response was anticipated, it was not unanimous. Working class boys thought shorts were for little boys, not the men they believed themselves to be.¹³⁶

131 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 1 September 1932, p. 2. Lloyd was comparing Victoria's increase of 7000 Scouts for the year, almost double Queensland's.

132 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 1 September 1932, p. 3.

133 Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1904*, p. 121-122.

134 Booker-McLay, p. 93.

135 Slaughter, p. 7.

136 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 21 February 1923, p. 2.

Working class youth were politically, sociologically and culturally prejudiced against the Movement and had a piece of doggerel they chanted to taunt Scouts:

Here come the Brussel Sprouts
The sticking, blinking louts,
and we were told to go home and wash our knees.¹³⁷

It was not just the cost or image that working class boys rejected. Thomas Laqueur, citing a report by 'The Select Committee on Education of the Poor', states that there was little discipline in their lives, and the idea of attending at set hours or abiding by rules and regulations was not to their liking.¹³⁸ Scouting did not draw even moderately from some working class areas of Brisbane. However, when working class boys did join the Movement, they allegedly were a bad influence on the Troop generally. This reached sufficient seriousness in Brisbane's Red Hill Troop to necessitate its closure. At the May 1935 Central Executive Committee meeting, Dr Fred Whitehouse, the District Commissioner, recommended de-registering the Troop, and that when effected, he proposed to form a new Troop at Bardon. County Commissioner G. H. Collings reported that 'the Red Hill Group was in a very unsatisfactory position, it having attracted certain boys who were undesirable and a bad influence'. The Chairman, Mr Lloyd reflected that it was a pity that the Group should be de-registered, because it was the very type of boy that Scouting was trying to help.¹³⁹

Society saw working class youth as a threat. As Reginald Roe, Inspector General of the Queensland Department for Public Instruction, stated: 'Grave moral deterioration is too frequently disclosed by the differences between the manners of the street hooligans of sixteen, and the behaviour of those same children at fourteen in their school'.¹⁴⁰ Baden-Powell was to admit that the Movement failed to recruit working class youth in any substantial numbers.¹⁴¹ However, girls were eager to join their male cousins in the game of Scouting.

137 Leslie Paul, *Angry Young Man*, Faber and Faber, London, 1951, p. 51.

138 Laqueur, p. 199.

139 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 27 May 1935, p. 3.

140 Reginald Roe, Queensland Parliamentary Papers 1916, Fortieth Report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for 1915.

141 Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1904*, p. 121.

What to do with the Girls? is the title of chapter 14 of Tim Jeal's book, *The Boy Man: The life of Lord Baden-Powell*.¹⁴² The question captures not only the essence of Jeal's arguments, but also an issue that was to create problems in 1908 and beyond.¹⁴³ Initially, Baden-Powell was in favour of girl Scouts; at the Crystal Park Rally in 1909, some 6,000 girls were registered as Boy Scouts.¹⁴⁴ In *The Scout* of 1908, he asked rhetorically, 'Can girls be Scouts',¹⁴⁵ and answering himself in the affirmative. This is at odds with the Girl Guide organisation's official version that Baden-Powell had 'hardened his heart against all imitations by girls ... [Any organisation] must be run separately from the boys ... and find a name of its own'.¹⁴⁶

In Queensland, the League of Girl Aids commenced at Rosalie in Brisbane in March 1910. They wore the same uniform as the boys, used *Scouting for Boys* as their handbook, but who lived by the motto of 'Be Ready', and 'binds herself to become efficient in the following arts:- first aid, camp cookery ... miniature rifle shooting ... and personal hygiene'.¹⁴⁷ The Council of Control requested the girls wear a different uniform, but as Slaughter states, this was to no avail.¹⁴⁸ Baden Powell did not want the boys 'contaminated' by a feminine influence and laid down that 'training has to be administered with great discrimination; you do not want to make tomboys of refined girls ... the main object is to give them all the ability to be better mothers and Guides to the next generation'.¹⁴⁹ In 1911, the League of Girl Aids became the Girl Guides, the object being to 'give our girls ... a series of healthy and jolly activities which ... afford them a course of education outside school ... in four particular lines ... Character and Intelligence, Skill and Handcraft, Physical Health and Hygiene, and Service for Others and Fellowship'.¹⁵⁰

142 Jeal, p. 469.

143 When the Design for Tomorrow Committee in Australia considered what to do with the girls, 'All' young people implies that girls should be considered members ... as one of the main concerns of the Movement is to help Scouts understand other people ... it cannot afford to exclude half of these people', Australian Boy Scouts Association, Design for Tomorrow Report, 1970, pp. 89, 92.

144 Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, p. 11.

145 *The Scouter*, 16 May 1908, n.p.

146 Rose Kerr, 'The Story of the Girl Guides 1908-1932', in Jeal, p. 469.

147 'The Girls Aid Movement in Australia', *Queensland Country Life*, 1 July 1910, p. 8.

148 Slaughter, p. 18.

149 Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, Routledge, Oxford, 2013, p. 174.

150 Baden-Powell, *Girl Guide Handbook*, p. 6.

Chief Commissioner Master Snow was of similar mind concerning segregation. He firmly believed that boys and girls should not hold integrated activities. At the 1937 Corroboree in Adelaide, 600 Girl Guides were included in the march past, and they put on other displays.¹⁵¹ At the conclusion of the Corroboree, a meeting of leaders nominated Snow as the alternative Australian contingent leader for the Jamboree in Holland the following year.¹⁵² At the Federal Council meeting held in Adelaide immediately following the Corroboree, Snow gave notice of motion: 'that all future large gatherings such as Corroborees, etc, should not be mixed camps.'¹⁵³ He signalled his attitude to this the previous year with an agenda item notice in July 'that Lady Scouters be not allowed to attend future inter-state gatherings'.¹⁵⁴ The Girl Guide Movement was likewise not immune from gender issues. Sally Marshall argues that stereotypical sex-roles adhered to the Guide Movement emphasising 'feminine' traits and characteristics including traditional domestic pursuits such as home-making, mothercraft, nursing, rather than vigorous outdoor adventuring. One description of the 1934/5 jamboree, for instance, had the Cubs 'marching' while the Brownies 'skipped' along, their 'light footsteps a contrast to the steady marching of their sturdy predecessors'. Some of the Brownies at the display dressed as cooks and others as housemaids.¹⁵⁵

In Queensland the Girl Guide Movement co-existed harmoniously alongside the Boy Scouts; both recognised as character training enterprises, a point noted by the Governor Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams in stating: 'the excellent combination of discipline and harmony ... as the basis ... continuing outside the school what was taught within it'.¹⁵⁶ The question of girls becoming members of the Boy Scouts in Queensland was never a heated one, nor did it cause divisions with the Movement, mainly because most of the male office-bearers of the time considered the introduction of the Girl Guide Movement

151 '600 Girl Guides in March Past', *The Mail*, (Adelaide), 2 January 1937, p. 7.

152 'Scout Contingent for Holland', *The Advertiser*, 2 January 1937, p. 23.

153 Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 25 January 1937, p. 4.

154 Minutes, State Executive, 26 July 1936, p. 3. Taken collectively, Snow's 'warnings' concerning mixed gender activities, could be seen as slightly misogynist, and indeed regular (official) Scout/Guide activities did not start until after World War II. Girls and young women were admitted to the Venturer Section in 1973; to the Cubs and Scouts in 1988 and to the Joey Section when it started in 1990.

155 Marshall, p. 114.

156 'Queensland Girl Guides', *The Brisbane Courier*, 11 April 1921, p. 6.

the most appropriate course of action. When introduced, both Movements co-existed in relative harmony.¹⁵⁷ Issues of race, however, were a different matter.

Baden-Powell was enamoured of the noble savage, more as a romanticised fantasy than in fact. 'If only boys could be trained to duplicate the savage life, then they might have everything that the savage had not yet lost — virility, hardiness, martial spirit'.¹⁵⁸ Emulating 'primitive' peoples is a leit-motif that runs through the early decades of Scouting; the desire to escape the industrial and urban squalor that was the life of many working class families in large metropolitan centres. However, Baden-Powell was selective as to which 'savages' should be emulated. The North American Indian was his 'savage' of choice; envisioning 'buffaloes roaming in Kensington Gardens ... and the smoke from the Sioux lodges under the shadow of the Albert Memorial'.¹⁵⁹ In her thesis on the lived experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia, Julia Messner, quotes her grandmother: 'Hikes to the racecourse in the afternoon (two Indians carried off a paleface who left a trail of sand). Others followed, attacked [the] Indians and released the prisoners'.¹⁶⁰ Rosenthal though, puts the lie to the noble savage sentiment, arguing that nowhere in any of Baden-Powell's extensive writings is there an indication that 'non-white cultures might possess their own integrity ... or that blacks could seriously maintain any claim to equality with whites'.¹⁶¹ That Baden-Powell held almost all non-white races in low esteem seemed not to have troubled him in the slightest. Commenting on Australia's Indigenous population, he said:

Before the British came to Australia ... the country was inhabited by black natives, but as these were a cowardly murderous lot ... they gradually fell back before the whites Like the Bushman, the lowest type of native in Africa, some of them live in a sort of nest without having the sense to build themselves huts.¹⁶²

157 This lasted until the 1970s when the (Boy) Scout Movement accepted in principle girls as members, which caused friction with the Girl Guide Movement. However, girls and young women were not actually admitted until the 1990s.

158 Robert MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire*, p. 132.

159 Robert Baden-Powell, *Adventures and Accidents*, Methuen & Co, London, 1934, p. 66.

160 Messner, p. 71.

161 Rosenthal, *The Character Factory*, p. 260.

162 Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas: My World Tour*, p. 199.

Initially, the American Indian was the archetype 'native' emulated because both Indian and Scout were taught survival skills of tracking and bushcraft, and both underwent initiation rituals. However, this gradually changed. In 1934, Robert Turner and Milton Boyce produced *Australian Aboriginal Signs and Symbols for the Use of Boy Scouts* in a bid to encourage a greater recognition of Australia's Indigenous heritage and use of Indigenous cultural practices within the Movement. They argued that Scouting symbols should be more Australian oriented rather than relying on the Indigenous cultures of North America and Africa.¹⁶³

Scouting in Queensland took a quite different approach to issues of race. Stephen Booker-McLay argues that both the Boy Scouts and the Boys Brigade saw themselves as 'missionary attempts to "civilise" the indigenous inhabitants',¹⁶⁴ and initiated contact with Aborigine and Torres Strait Islander peoples. In 1926, the first Aborigine Boy Scout Troop began on Badu Island, the same year that the Queensland Branch took control of Scouting in Papua and New Guinea. However, given the remoteness of many Aborigine centres, the cost of travel, and the infrequent visits by members of the Council of Control, enrolments were patchy at best. Membership peaked at 95 in 1934, the year of Baden-Powell's visit to Thursday Island, and then declined to single figures by the end of the decade.¹⁶⁵ An attempt to bring a degree of inclusiveness to Aboriginal Scouting came with a 'Swiss Family Robinson' style adventure on Palm Island from 1 May to 4 June 1937. This involved forty white Scouts from most Australian States, and thirty-four Palm Island Aboriginal Scouts lead by Aboriginal Scoutmasters Peter Pryor and Mick Ryan. Unaware of the Aboriginal Scouts' participation, the white Scouts landed on the beach, and only to find a group of hostile war-painted Aborigines, wielding spears confronting them. The Aborigines seized the white Scouts' camping gear and supplies and hid them in various locations on the Island, thus denying the white Scouts their traditional camping style. It was not until Chief Commissioner Snow asked for permission to land, that the situation became clear. However, it was a backwoods style of camping; no tents or huts — just gunyas. One day, after foraging for food (fish and coconuts), the white Scouts returned to their campsite to discover that their fires had been doused, forcing them to create fire by friction. Each day's activities commenced

163 Robert Turner & Milton Boyce, *Australian Aboriginal Signs and Symbols for the Use of Boy Scouts*, P. R. Stephenson, Sydney, 1934, p. 9.

164 Booker-McLay, p. 102.

165 Booker-McLay, p. 121.

with tracking down the white Scouts' supplies. By the third week, both groups had achieved a harmonious integration. In the final days, the camp moved to the Palm Island settlement under canvas, where, on the final night, the Aboriginal Scouts performed a corroboree, and the white Scouts performed skits and songs. Interviewed by the *Townsville Bulletin*, Chief Commissioner Snow said:

The camp had been beneficial both to the visitors and the Palm Islanders. The visitors had taught their black brothers many new kinks. In camp cooking methods and the art of making the camp comfortable; the Palm Islanders, on the other hand, imparted, most appreciated and valuable instruction in native lore, island songs and dances, handcrafts such as plaiting palm leaves and the making and use of spears and other aboriginal weapons.¹⁶⁶

This type of Scouting initiative underlies the pedagogy and methodology of the Scout Method; that is, rather than instruct from without, have the boy learn from within. While the issues confronted particularly by the white Scouts called for problem solving and lateral thinking skills, the spirit of accord developed between the boys contributed significantly to the underlying character development ethos of the Movement.

Despite the few activities where Indigenous and white scouts came together, there was no racial integration in Queensland Troops. On Thursday Island for example, there was the 1st Thursday Island Group (whites) and the 2nd Thursday Island Group (non-whites). Booker-McLay notes that other Indigenous Scouts were referred to as 'native', indicating that the Thursday Island non-white Group contained other non-European Scouts.¹⁶⁷ In a seeming mellowing of tone and attitude, Baden-Powell commented on positive race relations at the Frankston Jamboree in 1934, an outstanding feature of which was the mixing of so many races in mutual friendship: 'This gave one visions and hope of what may be possible as they grow to manhood and increase in numbers', he stated.¹⁶⁸

166 'Scouts Outing at Palm Island', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 8 June 1937, p. 11.

167 Booker-McLay, p. 103. Records disclose that a Japanese boy, Tamiya Nakata, was enrolled as a Wolf Cub in the 2nd Thursday Island Group

168 Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, p. 160.

This dichotomy confirms that there was little consistency between Baden-Powell's personal attitude to race, his idealised views of racial harmony, Queensland Scouting's official policy, and London's neutrality of non-involvement in local matters. Ernest Reynolds agreed, saying that difficulties were 'not within the Movement, but in public feeling that may create awkward situations'.¹⁶⁹ Reynolds is being disingenuous; Queensland Scouting's race relations were never in question; segregated Groups existed side by side. However, given the conservative ideology of an essentially white middle class youth movement containing underlying notions of social Darwinism, it was never likely that Scouting at this time would develop programs culturally attuned to Australia's Indigenous youth.

Minutes and statistics tell only part of the story. The motivations and actions of the Queensland Council of Control and its inner Executive reflected Baden-Powell's attitude to control. The fact that Queensland membership remained numerically small in this period lies at the door of the Council of Control and their oft-repeated claim that deliberately restricted expansion was the result of a lack of suitable leaders. At the same time though, the Council of Control engaged mostly efficiently and competently with the wider community, particularly the Churches, working in a symbiotic relationship beneficial to both.

In the latter part of the 1930s, Baden-Powell's grasp on the political, sociological, and cultural changes that were taking place worldwide was weakening. The matter came to a head in India in 1937. The stridently nationalist Indian National Congress party, was advocating complete independence. While foreign policy would still be dictated by London, domestic policy would devolve more and more downwards from the Viceroy to the local politicians. Baden-Powell could not escape his ingrained belief that the 'white' races were superior to the 'coloured' races, and his refusal to support the independence movement and his desire to maintain Imperial control over the Indian Scouts caused considerable harm.¹⁷⁰ Since 'official' (white) Scouts were far outnumbered by 'unofficial' (non-white) Scouts who supported the National Congress party, Baden-Powell was warned directly by the Viceroy to be very careful when

¹⁶⁹ Reynolds, *The Scout Movement*, p. 160.

¹⁷⁰ Johnston, p. 61.

making public statements, being told to refrain from supporting the ‘unofficial’ Scouts in any way.¹⁷¹ On his return to England, he gave an interview about his trip to India in which he suggested that Indian boys would benefit from Scouting’s unique training in character. Indian reporters immediately took this as an inference that Baden-Powell considered Indian boys were lacking in character. The reaction was swift; Sir Byranjee Jeejeebhoy, Commissioner for Bombay, wrote to the other Commissioners in India telling them that in view of Baden-Powell’s insult giving rise to his extreme unpopularity in the province, the only way to save Scouting in India was to sever all ties with London; which it did.¹⁷²

This proved sufficiently damaging to Baden-Powell personally and the Movement as a whole to bring on his retirement from public life.¹⁷³ So marks the end of the all-encompassing influence that Baden-Powell had on just about every aspect of Scouting for the previous thirty years. His farewell came on 9 August 1937 at the 5th International Jamboree in Vogelenzang, Holland, in the presence of 28,750 Scouts from around the world:

Brother Scouts, the time has come for me to say good-bye ... We are meeting for the last time — some of us. I am in my eighty-first year and am nearing the end of my life ... you are at the beginning of yours, but in this there is no cause for melancholy, but rather the opposite ... it is an occasion of thanksgiving for a very happy existence.¹⁷⁴

CONCLUSION

In the period 1920 to 1937, the Boy Scout Movement came of age. It moved beyond the horrors of World War I and became an intrinsic part of the Empire; an Empire that Baden-Powell believed would lead the world. The next generation of youth would be the future leaders and the Dominions would play an important part in establishing the dominance of the Empire, by receiving immigrant Scouts who would take the lead locally. Baden-Powell conceived the Boy Scout Migrant Scheme as a means of

171 Baden-Powell Diary, 15 February 1937, R11, BSAA.

172 Letter Sir Byranjee Jeejeebhoy to C. H. Tyrell, 16 August 1937, TC51, SAA.

173 Baden-Powell’s last public appearance was at the 5th International Jamboree in Holland in August 1937.

174 Jeal, p. 542-543.

alleviating the unemployed, the over-crowded slums of Britain and labour shortages in the Dominions.

Unfortunately, Baden-Powell and many others in Britain grossly misread the situation in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Because both Australia and England specified that they were interested only in educated boys with a willingness to serve and obey, the schemes became elitist and exclusive. Further, the youth of Britain were not interested in moving to the Australian outback because the Great Depression meant that there were very few jobs for them to come to. The recalled experiences of those who did move to Australia under the Scout Migration Scheme and the Big Brother Movement revealed disenchantment, with many leaving the farms for the cities; a move that Baden-Powell specifically wanted to avoid. These adverse experiences overshadowed the successes of the scheme, a scheme that was conceptually sound, but flawed in practice.

In Queensland, the Council of Control evolved and operated along lines similar to Baden-Powell's governing body in England. It created a Central Executive Committee and granted itself powers in an 'irregular' manner. The way the Council of Control first created a smaller Executive, to which it appointed carefully selected people; controlled the voting processes, and summarily rejected demands for greater democracy reflects Baden-Powell's influence. The secession of 1910 gave the Central Executive Committee pause, and they enlarged the Council of Control by three Scoutmasters, elected by Scoutmasters from their own ranks. However, the Central Executive Committee was careful to ensure that such elected Scoutmasters never held more than one-fifth of the vote. The financial situation stabilised with the introduction of the Bob Monteith Memorial Fund and a secured endowment from the Walter and Eliza Hall Trust Fund, which contributed more than half the Association's income in the mid-1930s. In this period, the control exerted by the Council of Control was almost total, and given the fact that Baden-Powell received annual reports from each branch of the Movement in Australia, Queensland's motives and methods obviously met with his approval.

Baden-Powell supported the restrictive membership policy of the Council; that numbers be kept low because of a lack of 'suitable' leaders; 'leaders between 25 and 50, who never grow older than 19'. Accepting the tongue in cheek nature of the comment, there

is a grain of truth in it; the constant cry was that there were not enough *suitable* leaders, and that some existing leaders lacked the necessary commitment. In the early 1930s, membership dropped over a five-year period and it was only by a successful approach to the mainstream churches to introduce 'controlled' Scout Troops that the numbers increased, although this scheme was to create problems with administration and religious observance.

While in other parts of the world, girls wanting to become Scouts, created complications for the Movement, in Queensland, no such problems emerged. Girls first became Girl Aids, and then with the introduction of Girl Guides both Movements co-existed harmoniously, sometimes staging combined activities. However, race was to prove a thornier problem. The Empire, according to Baden-Powell's social imperialist view, had a responsibility to bring civilisation to the native races of the world — including Australia's. Queensland Scouting adopted a missionary approach to bringing Scouting to Indigenous youth. In this period, Scout Troops began in the Torres Strait, on Palm Island, and other remote locations, but there were very few instances of combined activities involving Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Troops. In this period the Troops were racially segregated as much by geography as intent.

Irrespective of what he said and wrote publically, Baden-Powell's core beliefs were locked in the late Victorian/ early Edwardian era, where the Empire and its imperial imperative of holding a pre-eminent position in world affairs was all important. However, the rapid changes occurring in the political, social, and cultural landscape were leaving him isolated in his thinking, and as late as 1937, he believed that Imperial Headquarters should (still) be the controlling authority for Scouting in the Dominions and Colonies. Although his insult to India and Indian Scouting was unintended, it was typical of his social imperialist thinking. He did realise, though, that he had made a terrible blunder, and given his strength of character willingly, but with misgivings, retired from public life in that same year.

Although the Boy Scout Movement faced many challenging issues that affected its growth, especially in the early years, its eventual success was a seeming contradiction

in that it tries, as John Springhall says, ‘to be all things to all men’.¹⁷⁵ Scouting spread beyond the ‘imperial’ in a few short years – not as the monolithic entity that Baden-Powell sought, where the Imperial would control the international, but as a multi-branched organism. The Movement could never have been controlled from the single ideological source (London), since the huge disparity in the ‘local’ dictated the form in each centre as it mutated to fit the needs of time and place. Eduard Vallory refers to this as the ‘glocal’ nature of the Scouting. This neologism combining ‘global’ and ‘local’ describes Scouting’s position in the international landscape; a Movement based on local formations with a large voluntary membership and leadership, each forged in national loyalties, and at the same time committed to global challenges.¹⁷⁶

175 Springhall, ‘Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?’, p. 936.

176 Eduard Vallory, *World Scouting: Education for global citizenship*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012. p. 122.

CONCLUSION

Central to the emergence of the Boy Scout Movement in Queensland and elsewhere was the influence that the founder, Lord Robert Baden-Powell brought to bear on its development. As a hero of the Boer War, boys and Scoutmasters alike venerated him, treating him as a messianic leader with an almost mythical legendary status. That journey began shortly after his birth in 1857.

The genesis of the Boy Scout Movement lay dormant within the boy and developed within the man; a man who possessed boy-man qualities throughout his life. The forces of life that shaped the Movement originated in Baden-Powell's childhood, advanced in his formative years, found voice during his many military postings to various parts of the Empire, then crystallised into the ideology and philosophy that underpins the methodology and pedagogy of the Boy Scout Movement. Chief among them is development of character. Baden-Powell argued that the Scout Movement could supply to the emerging generation of youth what formal education could not. 'Our main effort is to attract boys and beckon them on to the right road for success in life; we endeavour to equip them ... especially the poorest ... with "character" '.¹

Those same forces produced a man of seeming simple tastes, but with a very complex personality; a personality driven by the need to succeed. That complexity also made him self-contradictory; he unashamedly changed his point of view to suit his audience. Above all else, though, Baden-Powell needed to be in control. His own appointments to the initial Boy Scout Governing Council in England attest to this. Charles Snow shared that need, and closely followed Baden-Powell's example when structuring the Council of Control in Queensland.

Other forces that fertilised the germ of an idea that became the Boy Scouts were outside Baden-Powell's control, namely the unique political, economic, social, and cultural conditions at the turn of the nineteenth century. A perceived decline in the masculinity of the nation's manhood was of concern; there was apprehension about increased militarism in Europe and the Pacific, and political embarrassment at the disastrous reversals suffered in the Boer War. Late Victorian and early Edwardian concepts of

¹ Baden-Powell, 'The Other Fellow's Point of View', *Outlook*, June 1912.

social Darwinism and eugenics, the conservative ideology of rigid class structures and the Empire's utter belief in its own supremacy were other essential forces within the mix.

As with all nascent organisations, the Boy Scouts in Queensland experienced 'growing pains' at the organisational level. Those growing pains centred on the relationship between the Council of Control and the Scoutmasters, and the degree of control that the Council considered it could exert. However, at Troop level, the Movement continued to grow. Within two years, Troops began in all regional centres and many smaller communities. The difficulties experienced at adult level did not affect the activities of the boys. They pursued the traditional activities of camps and hikes, bushcraft games and activities, and gave community service willingly. In return, communities throughout the state accepted Scouting, recognising the underlying benefits that accrued not only to the boys, but also to society.

The origins of the Boy Scout Movement have been documented by many authors, scholars and historians, including Scout Leaders who were involved from the outset. Some attended the experimental camp on Brownsea Island in 1907. Its creation is contained within the narratives of those early leaders and other surviving documents of the day and which form the basis of this research, although it is acknowledged that many accounts, biographies or autobiographies of the early leaders and historians, are self-serving and hagiographic. Nonetheless, they are a good starting point, leading to areas of more fruitful investigation and analysis.

Research revealed Baden-Powell's relationship with people like Ernest Thompson Seton, founder of the Birch Bark Roll Woodcraft movement in America, and R. B. Haldane, the Secretary of State for War, who saw the value of a scheme of training for boys. Lord Roberts appointed Baden-Powell to command a Territorial home defence force, instructing him simultaneously to inspect cadet units around the country, which brought him into long-term contact with young boys. C. Arthur Pearson believed that the Boy Scout Movement could be very profitable for him and eventually became Baden-Powell's long-term publisher. On the periphery was Sir William Smith, founder of the Boys Brigade, with whom Baden-Powell first 'experimented' with some of his 'scout' activities. His relationships with Seton and Pearson were to become quite problematical,

and in the case of Seton, developing into a matter brought before the Supreme Court of New York.

The Scout Law and Promise underpin the pedagogy, ideology, and philosophy of Scouting. It is through the dictates of the Law and Promise that a boy comes to understand honour, loyalty, and obedience, essential character traits necessary in a Boy Scout. The Law and Promise emerged from Baden-Powell's life experiences, and exist on several different levels. A boy makes his Promise during his investiture, and while he may have memorised it, Baden-Powell wanted the boy to understand the intent rather than be able to repeat it parrot-fashion it during a ritual. The intent was that having done his *best*, then the boy had discharged that promise; it was a personal thing. The subliminal text of the Law and Promise is character development, which Baden-Powell saw as the corner stone of the Scout Method — the education paradigm of the Movement. As a metaphor, the Scout Law and Promise was a code of behaviour for the Empire. In the Dominions, citizenship rather than class dominated the intellectual debates. Citizenship brought with it responsibilities, and those responsibilities carried a duty, not just to the Dominion, but also to the Empire. It was Baden-Powell's view that a Scout was a citizen of both a country and the Empire.

Following the granting of a Royal Charter by King George V in 1912, Baden-Powell assumed total control of the entire Movement, allowing him to dictate policy, procedures, and the direction of Scouting. Although he asserted that decentralisation was the best method of administering the Movement, it was never democratic. The governing body in London and likewise in Queensland strictly controlled decision making, even to the extent of Baden-Powell intervening personally where issues of control, policy, or loyalty came into question, as in the case of T. R. Roydhouse and Captain F. A. White. In Queensland, the direction of the movement was not open to negotiation at administrative level. Charles Snow, following Baden-Powell's lead, was foremost in guiding the Council of Control and its inner Central Executive Committee's determination of how the Movement operated.

Disagreement flared publicly shortly after the Movement formed when the pacifist/militarist debate became rancorous, and all-consuming. In the early 1900s, militarism existed deep within the psyche of the nation and the Movement. Many of the leaders

were serving or ex-military personnel and the hierarchy of command resembled a military command, while the uniform had the trappings of soldiery. Some revisionist scholars have interpreted Baden-Powell's view that Scouting should be seen as the bulwark of the Empire, to mean he raised the Boy Scouts for military purposes, either as reservists or for possible active duty. Troops drilled with rifles, which they took to camp, causing some sections of the community to become antagonistic to the Movement, believing that Scouting encouraged belligerent behaviour with the quasi-military uniform and activities reinforcing that belief. On the other hand, Baden-Powell was adamant that the Boy Scout Movement was a movement for peace, and he reinforced this position repeatedly in his writings.

As a soldier more used to giving orders than receiving them, Baden-Powell floundered when faced with concerted opposition to his directives. Administration was never one of his strengths, and he happily left such matters to others. It was here that disagreements between people caused divergence, and as argued, it was not so much the militarist/pacifist debate, rather the disagreements over democracy within the Movement that caused the secessions. The exclusionist policy exerted by the Council of Control caused disenchantment in Scoutmasters in Queensland. As with other secessions that occurred at this time, confrontation rather than conciliation determined that the outcomes were never going to be amicable, or in the best interest of the Movement overall. Ernest Thompson Seton's disagreement and subsequent secession from the Boy Scouts of America involved Baden-Powell in a legal dispute before the American Courts that could have left Baden-Powell's reputation in tatters, and removed the Scout Movement from his control. It was fortunate for the Scout Movement that the issue was finalised before Baden-Powell's deposition was called for.

After World War I, the Scout Movement 'came of age', and Baden-Powell believed that it could play a large part in the expansion of the Empire. This would be achieved by 'seeding' the Dominions and Colonies with carefully selected Boy Scout emigrants. In the 1920s the scheme met with favour in both Britain and Queensland, although inherently flawed from the beginning. Baden-Powell had seriously misread the labour situation in Australia, and the improved economic and social conditions in Britain. This was coupled with the fact that, as demonstrated, in many cases the wrong class of boy was being shipped out, and that Baden-Powell's mythical view of masculine grit and

steely determination in the makeup of the boy migrants heading to world's frontiers, was just that — a myth, the scheme collapsed in the 1930s. The take up in Queensland for the entire scheme was less than 200 boys, and while in the main the boys were of 'the right type' (ie of the Public School class), there were many who were considered to be unsuited.² However, research indicates that for the majority of boys who did migrate, the scheme was a positive experience.

In Queensland, the leaders of the fledgling Boy Scout Movement moved quickly to create a mechanism of control. They first created a Council of Control, then within two months formed a Central Executive Committee of that Council comprising four people, who appointed themselves to the top executive positions. Following Baden-Powell's lead and influence, the Central Executive Committee, assumed quasi-legal powers to settle disputes, make appointments to the Council of Control and restrict voting rights. That power effectively excluded Scoutmasters at Troop level. This thesis argues that the actions of this early Central Executive Committee, and the Council of Control were irregular, and the exclusivity and undemocratic manner of decision-making was the cause of the Queensland secession of 1910. The Council of Control did not change their methods; if anything, over the years, they tightened their grip. The Council of Control became the State Council, but the attitude of the Central Executive Committee remained unchanged; they ensured the administrative clauses in the constitution kept total control within the Executive.

It was the Executive's need to be in control which limited expansion of the Movement — despite this method of control that meeting with Baden-Powell's approval. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, they controlled membership through restricting the appointment of leaders. They wanted men up to their 50s who never grew older than 19 years of age. They were looking for the 'boy-man', a man who would always have the outlook of a boy, and on many occasions reorganised or closed down Troops because leaders were unsuitable. The Queensland Central Executive Committee adhered rigidly to the policy of controlled, restricted membership on the basis that numbers would increase only when suitable leaders were located. Not everyone in Queensland was happy with this situation. In 1932, the Chairman, F. R. Lloyd, expressed his dissatisfaction at the lack of enrolments. He believed that the Central Executive

² Annual Reports, State Council, 1925 to 1937.

Committee was too demanding in their leadership requirements, and in a telling election, he was not re-elected. However, nothing changed; subsequent Annual Reports decried the lack of suitable leadership. The situation in Canada was almost the reverse; policy often overlooked so that expansion could take place. In the long term, Canada's approach was more beneficial to Scouting in that country as policy and procedures were adapted to fit the local conditions and environment, rather than adherence to the British model as happened in Queensland, and in Victoria, which Sally Marshall described as a pale version of a superior British model.³

The Queensland Central Executive Committee recognised that engagement with the wider community was necessary to advance the cause of Scouting, and to this end they approached the mainstream churches with a view to bringing the church leaders onto the State Council, and simultaneously introduce Scouting within the churches. This move was mostly successful; the church leaders did join the Council of Control and Scout Troops began under the auspices of the various churches. Gender issues surfaced early, with a considerable number of girls presenting themselves as scouts at the Crystal Park Rally in 1909. The Queensland Central Executive Committee took a pragmatic view in the early days; they told the Girl Aids not to wear the boy's uniform, and to adopt a gentler program. The girls did neither, however, and with the introduction of Girl Guides in 1909, the problem disappeared and the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts co-existed in relative harmony.

Considering Baden-Powell's professed aim of attracting the lowest class of boy; a boy who to all intents and purposes was considered bereft of character, but who could be saved with the proper training, then the Scout Movement was in one sense a failure. Evidence from Britain and the Dominions attests that it was middle and upper class boys who were attracted to the Movement. The working classes stayed away for a variety of reasons; class warfare, economics, discipline and the availability of time. The Queensland 'missionary' approach to integrate Australian Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders into Scouting met with only moderate success, and only then on a segregated basis. As argued, there was no commonality between Baden-Powell's views on racial harmony and Queensland's official policy on Indigenous Scouting, and given the country's White Australia Policy in force at the time, the issue was never likely to assume

³ Marshall, p. 29.

major importance. Baden-Powell's influence on the development of the Scout Movement in Queensland was substantial and affected its management and operation for the entire thirty-four year period. His 'retirement', brought about by alienating the entire Indian Sub-Continent from the Movement, was a sad reflection on what was an incredible achievement.

Taken as a whole, the minutes of the Queensland Branch for this period display some awareness of the wider anthropological, pedagogical, and organisational trends that were to shape not only their time, but also the latter part of the 20th century. While it goes too far to suggest the Queensland Branch was acutely aware of the way youth and society were changing over that period, the pedagogical and organisational concepts put in place have altered only so far as the Movement has found necessary to survive. The issues that defined this period centred on control, membership/leadership and finances.

This thesis has examined elements of the Boy Scout Movement at both an organisational level and at Scout Group level, and has identified a number of issues that would benefit from further investigation. The period covered by this thesis explores the formative and initial developmental periods of the Movement. There is a need to examine more closely the relationship between the administrative wing and the commercial sector, as the Movement came to rely increasingly on their patronage and goodwill. Likewise, there is scope to explore the Council of Control's relationship with governments, including moves to gain financial recognition from the Defence Department in the early 1900s. There is scope also for a closer examination on the operations of individual Groups, and an even closer scrutiny of the nexus that existed between Scout Groups and Headquarters. Similarly, investigating reasons that the Scout Movement did not achieve greater working-class participation, including considerations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representation would yield benefits.

Unlike schools, there was no rigorous inspection procedures to ensure that Scout leaders were following the precepts laid down by Baden-Powell. The self-reporting process was rarely, if ever, objectively critical of a leader's own activities. The minutes of the time carry no extensive reports of the day-to-day activities of the Troops; such reports are in the state's newspapers and are commendatory rather than condemnatory. A fuller investigation of Scout Troops at boy level would yield valuable information concerning

organisation and programming, motivation and participation and importantly provide insights into retention levels; the life-blood of any voluntary organisation. This could be done using both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies including oral one-on-one and focus group interviews. Finally, after World War II, the Scout Movement in Queensland developed in ways significantly different to pre-war times, particularly following the publication of the Design for Tomorrow Report. The Movement and the community would benefit from an in depth investigation and analysis of the changes that occurred following the implementation of that report.

There are a limited number of scholarly investigations specifically on the Scout Movement in Australia. Stephen Booker-McLay's focuses on the organisational structure, the educational paradigm and the penetration of working class and Indigenous youth in Queensland and Sally Marshall selects three concepts: 'The Imperial Connection', the 'Question of Militarism', and 'Masculinity', and analyses them as they applied to Scouting in Victoria over three discrete periods, 1908-1918, 1930-1940, and 1967-1977. Julia Messner's study involves both the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements in Sydney. She takes five themes, 'Soldiers or Citizens?', 'Gender and Sexuality', 'Relating to the Outdoors', 'Religion and Duty to God', and 'Ethnic and Cultural Diversity', and investigates these, incorporating personal accounts from a number of interviewees as part of her study. Leah Simons examines masculinity at Prince Alfred College in South Australia. This college had both a Boy Scout Troop and a Cadet Unit, and it was compulsory to be in one or the other. There has been no systematic investigation of the Movement at Branch level on an Australia-wide basis. Such issues as policy formulation and implementation, leader training and curricular development could be of considerable benefit to the Movement.

Regardless, Baden-Powell's achievement; the Boy Scout Movement, secured a niche in the community. It started small and grew; it grew as Queensland grew, taking its place in the families, homes and structures of the community. The success of Scouting is the lived experiences of everyone who has been a member of the Movement, and those stories display a consistent pattern. It is a pattern of traditional Scouting and bushcraft, of camps and hikes, wide games and water sports, of craft and culture, and of civics and community. Those experiences evidence also the evolution of the sciences and the humanities, the cultural and the environmental, the shift in societal dynamics and the

impact these have on families and the individual, and on Scouting generally. Above all else, it is a pattern of character development via the time-proven path of the Scout Method – an educational paradigm designed as Maria Montessori said, to ‘simply enfranchise human development’.⁴

⁴ Montessori, p. 367.

APPENDIX

THE SCOUT LAW, 1908

1. **A SCOUT'S HONOUR IS TO BE TRUSTED.** If a scout says 'On my honour it is so', that means it is so, just as if he had taken a most solemn oath. Similarly, if a scout officer says to a scout, 'I trust you on your honour to do this', the Scout is bound to carry out the order to the very best of his ability, and to let nothing interfere with his doing so. If a scout were to break his honour by telling a lie, or by not carrying out an order exactly when trusted on his honour to do so, he would cease to be a scout, and must hand over his scout badge and never be allowed to wear it again.
2. **A SCOUT IS LOYAL** to the King, and to his officers, and to his country, and to his employers. He must stick to them through thick and thin against anyone who is their enemy, or who even talks badly of them.
3. **A SCOUT'S DUTY IS TO BE USEFUL AND TO HELP OTHERS.** And he is to do his duty before anything else, even though he gives up his own pleasure, or comfort, or safety to do it. When in difficulty to know which of two things to do, he must ask himself, 'Which is my duty?' that is, 'Which is best for other people?'—and do that one. He must Be Prepared at any time to save life, or to help injured persons. And he must do a good turn to somebody every day.
4. **A SCOUT IS A FRIEND TO ALL, AND A BROTHER TO EVERY OTHER SCOUT, NO MATTER TO WHAT SOCIAL CLASS THE OTHER BELONGS.** If a scout meets another scout, even though a stranger to him, he must speak to him, and help him in any way that he can, either to carry out the duty he is then doing, or by giving him food, or, as far as possible, anything that he may be in want of. A scout must never be a SNOB. A snob is one who looks down upon another because he is poorer, or who is poor and resents another because he is rich. A scout accepts the other man as he finds him, and makes the best of him — 'Kim', the boy scout, was called by the Indians 'Little friend of all the world', and that is the name which every scout should earn for himself. [*Changed in 1910 to: A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country, class or creed the other belongs, though some later editions still carry the original.*]
5. **A SCOUT IS COURTEOUS:** That is, he is polite to all — but especially to women and children and old people and invalids, cripples, etc. And he must not take any reward for being helpful or courteous.
6. **A SCOUT IS A FRIEND TO ANIMALS.** He should save them as far as possible from pain, and should not kill any animal unnecessarily, even if it is only a fly—for it is one of God's creatures.

7. **A SCOUT OBEYS ORDERS** of his patrol-leader, or scout master without question. Even if he gets an order he does not like, he must do as soldiers and sailors do, he must carry it out all the same because it is his duty; and after he has done it he can come and state any reasons against it: but he must carry out the order at once. That is discipline.
8. **A SCOUT SMILES AND WHISTLES** under all circumstances. When he gets an order he should obey it cheerily and readily, not in a slow, hang-dog sort of way. Scouts never grouse at hardships, nor whine at each other, nor swear when put out. When you just miss a train, or someone treads on your favourite corn — not that a scout ought to have such things as corns — or under any annoying circumstances, you should force yourself to smile at once, and then whistle a tune, and you will be all right. A scout goes about with a smile on and whistling. It cheers him and cheers other people, especially in time of danger, for he keeps it up then all the same. The punishment for swearing or bad language is for each offence a mug of cold water to be poured down the offender's sleeve by the other scouts.
9. **A SCOUT IS THRIFTY**, that is, he saves every penny he can, and puts it in the bank, so that he may have money to keep himself when out of work, and thus not make himself a burden to others; or that he may have money to give away to others when they need it.

In 1911 a Tenth Law was added:

10. **A SCOUT IS CLEAN IN THOUGHT, WORD AND DEED.** Decent Scouts look down upon silly youths who talk dirt, and they do not let themselves give way to temptation, either to talk it or to do anything dirty. A Scout is pure, and clean-minded, and manly.

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